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MEMOIRS

O F

Lieutenant General

LUDLOW.

The Third and Last Part.

W I T H A

Collection of Original Papers,
serving to confirm and illustrate
many important Passages of
this and the preceding Vo-
lumes.

To which is added, *A Table to the whole Work.*

Switzerland,

Printed at *Vevay* in the Canton of *Bern*, 1699.

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T H E
P R E F A C E.

WHEN the two former Volumes of these Memoirs were published, the Author's Friends had no design of letting the rest of his Papers go abroad; as well because those already printed contain the most remarkable Transactions that passed during the whole time that England was governed without a King, as because much of this following Part consists of Things relating to his own Person. But the good reception which the other Volumes have found in most parts of

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P R E F A C E.

stent with the Publick Safety. Men may learn from the Issue of the Cromwellian Tyranny, That Liberty and a Standing Mercenary Army are incompatible. For 'tis as clear as the Sun at Noon-day, that the Parliament by neglecting to put a Period to the exorbitant Greatness of Oliver Cromwel immediately after the Battle at Worcester, drew Destruction upon themselves and the whole Common-wealth; and gave the Army such an opportunity to feel their Strength as naturally led them to Counsels destructive to the Government. This produced that monstrous Tyranny of the Usurper and his Bascha's under the Name of Majors General, and afterwards compelled the People to suffer the return
of

P R E F A C E.

of Charles II. *The Ingratitude of that Prince to the Presbyterians, who had so well deserved from him by betraying all into his Hands, may serve to admonish those who go under that, or any other Denomination of Religion or Party, That no Trust can be safely reposed, where there is found an incompatibility of Manners and Principles; and that a Revenge taken against those who will not let us possess all, is a slender Satisfaction for the hazard of utter Ruin. But these, and perhaps many other more useful Reflections, judicious Men will be much better able to make, than others to suggest.*

Bern, March 26,
1699.

MEMOIRS

OF

Edmund Ludlow, *Esq;*

V O L. III.

THE Convention at *Westminster* having thought themselves sufficiently authorized to alter the Government, by virtue of which they had been called together, and rewarded Sir *John Grenvil* for the Message he had brought, the Proclamation for the readmission of Monarchy in the Person of *Charles Stuart*, was published on the Eighth of *May*, in the presence of the new General *George Monk*. Bonfires were made, the Bells were rung, and much Happiness expected from this Change. The Officers of the Army subscribed a Declaration, and presented it to *Monk* to be sent to the King, in which they expressed a Resolution to become true and faithful Subjects, and to accept of the King's Grace and Favour, according to the Tenour of His late Declaration

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from *Breda*. Whilst these Things were doing, I kept my self private at the House of a particular Friend, till I might better understand what the Issue was like to be; for the Council of State had, on the Day I arrived at *London*, sent Orders into the West of *England* for seizing my Person, which probably might have been served upon me, if I had returned by the usual Road. Fifteen Commissioners were appointed to be sent to *Breda* to complement the new King, and to attend him in his Passage to *England*, Five to be nominated by the Lords, and Ten by the Commons. But every Man expecting some Mark of Favour to be conferred on him for this Service, great Contentions arose among the Members for that Employment. To these, many others, especially of the looser sort of Men, added themselves; and some, to make an early Offer of their Subjection, and to provide themselves of Favour and Places, went over before the Commissioners, and being one Day with their King in his Apartment, boasting of their Loyalty and Services, he called for Wine, and applying himself to the Duke of *York*, drank to the Health of those Gentlemen, with this Remark, That he was now even with them, having as he thought done as much for them as they had done for him.

The Committee of Privileges and Elections having declared me to have been duly

returned to serve for the Borough of *Hinder* in the County of *Wilts*, and made their Report, which was agreed by the House, I received an Order for my admission to sit as a Member, but clogged with this unusual Clause, *That I should attend my Duty in the House, and take my Place by a certain Day*; which would be within ten Days after the Date of the said Order. Suspecting that the reason of this Insertion might proceed from some Information given by the Council of State that I had withdrawn my self, I thought fit to make my Application to Mr. *Arthur Annesly*, knowing him to be a leading Man among them, as well to give him Satisfaction touching the cause of my absence, as to learn from him what might be the Reason of that addition. And tho' I well understood, That being now declared to be a Member of that which was called a House of Commons; no other Power could seize me without Breach of their Privileges; yet the same Council of State still sitting, which had procured from the Secluded Members a Power to seize any Member that did not sit, and considering that Things were carried on with the utmost Treachery, I sent a Servant to let him know I would wait on him at Night. He received me with great Civility, and having conducted me to his Apartment, I acquainted him, That the end of my coming to him at that time, was to as-

fure him that my late Privacy did not proceed from any design that I had on foot against the present Power ; but that finding the Wheel to go round so fast, that it was difficult to guess where it might rest, I thought a Man, who had been engaged with the first against the King, and always zealous for a Common-wealth Government, might be excused, if he was unwilling to be found in Prison at the King's return ; especially since it was well known that a Warrant had been signed for my seizure : And therefore I desired he would favour me to inform those that were in Power, with the true Reasons of my absence. He answer'd, That tho' I had been zealous in the way I mentioned, yet that he and others were well satisfied, that my Intentions were directed to the Publick Good ; and tho' he could not blame me for taking Measures to avoid a Confinement, yet he assured me that a Hair of my Head should not suffer any more than his own. He then acquainted me with the Passages that had happened in the House upon the Report from the Committee touching my Election : That tho' nothing was said against it ; yet because I was the Person concerned, who, as they said, had constantly opposed them, and withdrawn my self out of their Protection, a Vote of the House had probably passed against agreeing with the Committee, if he

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had not stood up and desired the House,
 “ That they would not do an Act upon a
 “ Personal Distaste, of which they would be
 “ ashamed when they should better consider
 “ the Matter: That Justice ought to be
 “ impartial, and that nothing being al-
 “ ledged against the Report of the Com-
 “ mittee, it ought to be taken for good:
 “ That if the Person concerned had done
 “ any thing amiss, he being a Member
 “ ought to answer it in his place. This
 Motion being seconded by Mr. *Matthew Hale*,
 prevailed with the House to allow the Re-
 port with the addition before-mentioned.
 He took this occasion to tell me, That there
 was a young head-strong Party in the House,
 who in all Debates were for the most violent
 Courses, and that it would be very difficult
 to keep them in order; yet advised me to
 take my Place in the House as soon as I
 could. I thought fit to follow his Council,
 not only to undeceive those who thought I
 would continue in my Retirement, but also
 by coming among them before I was ex-
 pected, to disturb the Measures of those who
 waited for my Ruin. I chose to go into the
 House early in the Morning, and immedi-
 ately went up into the Speaker’s Chambers,
 where I was no sooner sat down, when
 Major *Robert Harley* came to me and desired,
 That if any thing should be objected against
 me by any Member of the House, which

he supposed would happen, and that the House should require me to answer, I would by all means forbear to say any thing in justification of the Proceedings of the High Court of Justice against the late King, because it would not be suffered. I told him that unless I was constrained, I saw no Reason to mention that Matter; but in that Case, tho' it should cost me my Life, I could not prevaricate.

Some of the Members, who during the time of the Parliament's Prosperity had gone as high with them as any others, now reproached me with the present Condition of Affairs; To whom I contented my self to reply in general, That if they liked it not they might thank themselves; and that as to my own Particular, my Conscience did not at all accuse me for contributing to the Change, or not using my Endeavours to prevent it. Others said, They had frequently admonished us that Things would be brought to this pass, by rendring the Foundations of our Party too narrow. But to these I answered, That they knew my Principles and Practices to have been such in that respect, as had drawn upon me the Censures of many. Divers of those who in *Richard's* Convention had joined with the Common-wealth Interest, now appeared to be totally altered, whilst others who had opposed them at that time, now wished for *Sir Henry Vane* and some others

others to balance the Royal Party. But those who had continued in their Fidelity to the Publick Cause, tho' they durst not speak out by Reason of the present Torrent, yet shook their Heads to express their dislike of the present Affairs.

The Commissioners who had been Voted to be sent to *Breda* being to be nominated that day, I took my Place in the House, divers Members solicited me to insert their Names in my Paper. But tho' it was my fortune to be one of this Convention, that I might not altogether neglect my own Preservation; yet resolving to have no part in betraying the Common-wealth, by Re-establishing the Government, against which I had engaged, and contracting the Guilt of that Blood which had been shed in the late Wars, I determin'd to put in no Paper of Names. To this end I went out of the House; but the Serjeant at Arms being commanded by the Speaker to call in all the Members to be Numbred, and seeing me, was very earnest with me to return to the House: I told him, I designed not to put in any Paper, and therefore it was not necessary I should be Numbred. In the mean time, the Serjeant received fresh Orders to summon the Members, and repeating his importunity with me, told me plainly, If I would not go into the House, he would inform the Speaker of my Refusal; which had he done,

'tis probable I should have been sent to the *Tower*. But having desired him to inquire of some ancient Member, whether it was necessary for one who would put in no Paper, to be Numbred with the rest; he went to Mr. *Pierrepoint*, and Serjeant *Glynn* to ask the Question; who, I suppose, satisfied the Serjeant it was not necessary: For looking down from the Gallery, I perceived both of them to smile whilst he was with them; but especially because I heard no more of that Matter.

This Business being over, the House fell into a Debate touching Persons to be entrusted with the great Seal. All agreed in Mr. *Tyrrrel*; but it was objected against Serjeant *Fountain*, That tho' he had been formerly for the King, yet he had of late shewed himself a great Promoter of the Reformation of the Law. Many pressed that the Earl of *Manchester* might be one of the Commissioners; but others who were better inform'd of Affairs, objecting, That it would be a dishonour to the Earl, to be put into a Place, which they assured the House was already given away to another Person, no more was said concerning him. In the Afternoon I went to the Committee of Elections, which sat in the House: Another day I sat with the Members in the Abby to hear a Sermon, and endeavour'd in all things so to carry my self, as to give no Occasion

Occasion to suspect me to be under any Apprehensions of Danger; hoping by this means to discourage my Enemies from moving any thing against me, which I knew the Cavalier Party inclined to do out of Principle; and divers of those who had served the Parliament, would not fail to comply with, from a prudential Care of themselves; hoping not only to make their own Peace, by Sacrificing those who had been most faithful to the Publick, but also to procure Favour and Preferment for themselves.

During this time, I had sent Orders to my Bailiff in *Ireland*, to sell my Stock, which in Sheep, Black Cattle, Corn and Horses, might amount to about Fifteen Hundred Pounds, and to Collect the Rents that were due to me from my Tenants. But he being Negligent, I made over my Stock to my Brother-in-Law, Colonel *Kempson*, for Satisfaction of my Sister's Portion, pressing him to send some Person forthwith to take Possession; which not being done with the Expedition that was requisite in such a Conjunction, Sir *Charles Coote*, without any Order or Pretence of Authority from the Parliament, made Seizure of all; forcing my Tenants to Pay my Rents to him, and Commanding my Servant not to dispose of any part of my Stock but by his Order: Only four stone Horses which I had
bred,

bred, and were then in my Stable, were taken away by Colonel *Theophilus Jones*; these Men, who had engag'd in the same Cause, out-doing our Enemies in Rage and Cruelty to us.

In the Convention things went high, Men not daring to shew Moderation lest it should be called Disaffection to the King; but in private, divers Members of both Houses declar'd themselves of Opinion, That a General Indemnity ought to be granted for all that had passed, without any Exception. The Earl of *Northumberland* was heard to say, That tho' he had no part in the death of the King, he was against questioning those who had been concern'd in that Affair; that the Example might be more useful to Posterity, and profitable to future Kings, by deterring them from the like Exorbitancies. And the Lord *Fairfax* on that Subject plainly said, That if any Person must be excepted, he knew no Man that deserved it more than himself, who being General of the Army at that time, and having Power sufficient to prevent the Proceedings against the King, had not thought fit to make use of it to that end. Divers also of the Commons moved that Limitations and Conditions might be drawn up, on which they should Consent to receive their King; 'till at length finding that *Monk* who had the Power in his Hand, gave constant

Intelligence of all that was said and by whom, none of them durst insist any farther on those Heads. And that he might compleat his Treachery, when the Lord Say proposed to him, that for the quiet of Mens Minds, an Act of Indemnity should be passed, in which some of those who had been principally concerned in the death of the King might be excepted; He in a great Rage answer'd, *Not a Man; for if I should suffer such a thing, I should be the arrantest Rogue that ever lived.* Yet for all this, under Colour that the House might have better Terms from their King, by relying on his Ingenuity than by Capitulating with him, especially at a distance, he had the Confidence to move them, That their Commissioners might be empower'd simply to invite him into *England*. Which Motion concurring with the Opinion of the unforeseeing Cavaliers among them, and disliked only by those who had not Courage enough to publish their Dissent, for fear of exposing themselves to a future Revenge, was taken for the Sense of the whole House, and so passed.

Sir Charles Coote having opened the bloody Scene by the seizure of the Chief Justice Coke in *Ireland*, a Party of the *Staffordshire* Militia, Commanded by one Colonel Bowyer, thought themselves sufficiently Authorized to act in the like manner; and there-

therefore seized Major General *Harrison* with his Horses and Arms, he having refused, upon Advice of their Intentions, to withdraw himself from his House, accounting such an Action to be a Desertion of the Cause in which he had engaged; tho' many Precepts and Examples might be produced, even from the Scriptures, to justify Men who endeavour to avoid the Cruelty of Enemies and Persecutors, by removing themselves where they may be protected. For that only can properly be called a Desertion of the Cause, when Men disown it to save their Lives, and not when they endeavour to secure themselves by lawful Means, in Order to promote it. But I shall not take upon me to Censure the Conduct of the Major General, not knowing what extraordinary Impulse one of his Virtue, Piety, and Courage may have had upon his Mind in that Conjunction. Sure I am, he was every way so qualified for the part he had in the following Sufferings, that even his Enemies were astonished and confounded.

The King's Party in the House of Commons having got such an Ascendent, that it was no longer safe to oppose them, drove on furiously, and procured a Resolution to be passed for seizing the Persons of all those who had signed the Warrant for the Execution of the late King; which though carried

ried with all possible Privacy, yet being not destitute of Friends among them, I had timely Notice of their Intentions: And because I doubted not that the House where I liv'd would be suddenly searched, I went to another in *Southampton Buildings*, belonging to one of my Relations, where I had appointed some Friends to meet me in the Evening, and to bring me an account of what had passed at *Westminster*. When I came to the House, I found my Friends had been in great Pain for me; the time that I had appointed for our Meeting being pass'd by almost two Hours, through the Fault of my Watch. Upon the account I received of the State of our Affairs, we enter'd into a Debate concerning the Course I should take to preserve my self from the Danger that threatned me; and the Company advis'd that I should forthwith remove from the House where I was, because the Entrance was in so publick a Place that it was probable I might have been observ'd at my coming in: For this Reason I consented to go immediately to the House of another Friend, which was not far distant, and had a back Gate leading to several other Houses, with an intention to stay there till Night, and then to repair to a more private Place in *London*, which had been prepared for me some Days before. Night being come, and I ready to depart, my
Friend,

Friend, tho' not insensible of the Danger that might ensue by Entertaining me, would by no means let me go, alledging, That on the Night of that Day, when a Resolution of such Importance had passed the House, the Watch in *London* would not fail of their accustomed Diligence. This being seconded by some of my nearest Relations, who also advised me to stay, I was contented to acquiesce; and the next Morning was informed that the Watch had hardly permitted any Coach to pass into *London* without some kind of Search.

The Order for seizing the King's Judges, not producing that sudden Effect the Commons expected, provoked them to such a degree, that they commanded their real and personal Estates to be forthwith seized in an extraordinary manner, contrary, I presume, to the known Laws, which provide that no Confiscation shall be made till after Conviction. But it ought not to seem strange, that those who had so far parted with their Prudence, to recal from a twelve Years Banishment, the Son of a Father whose Head had been publicly taken off, and invest him with the Government of a Nation, where this had been done, should be no more solicitous for the Privileges of their Country-men.

The House having received Information that Major General *Harrison* was brought Prisoner

Prisoner to *London*, they order'd him to be sent to the *Tower*, and that all his Horses which had been taken from him by those who had seized him at his House, should be brought to the Stables in the *Mense*, for the use of their King. Chief Justice *Coke* being also sent to *London* by Sir *Charles Coote*, was by another Order committed Prisoner to the same Place.

In the mean time the Commissioners sent from *England* to attend the new King, arrived at *Breda*, where Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, according to the Instructions he had received at *Westminster* to impart their Message to the King, going about to execute that Order, was interrupted and ruffled by Mr. *Henry Howard*, Brother to the Earl of *Arundel*, who said, It was insolent in him to pretend that Honour, which belonged to another of the Commissioners, and named one that was his own Kinsman. But Mr. *Hollis* affirming, That the House had entrusted him with their Complements and Desires, the King thought fit to make up the Difference, and to suffer Mr. *Hollis* to perform his part. Fifty thousand Pounds were sent over by these Commissioners to pay the Debts of the King, and to equip him for his Journey to *England*, together with considerable Sums of Money for the Dukes of *Tork* and *Glocester*. Divers private Persons also had taken care to make their Presents. Among others, Mr. *William Lenthal*,

Lenthall, late Speaker of the Parliament, had commissioned a Friend to give the King Three thousand Pounds from him, and to desire that he might continue Master of the Rolls; but the Person he had employ'd was told, That the Place was already promised to another.

Whilst these Things were doing in *Holland*, the House of Commons were preparing a Bill of Indemnity with all possible Diligence, that it might be ready to pass at the arrival of the King. They unanimously agreed, That some of the King's Judges should be excepted both as to Life and Estate, the remaining Dispute being only about the number. Some proposed, That all might be excepted, others would be contented with Twenty, and many with Thirteen: But *Monk* who had betray'd them all, expressing his Desires to be for Moderation, they were reduced to Nine, which that *Boutefeu Pryn*, contrary to the Orders of the House, undertook to name. Yet I was so far obliged to him, that my Name was not upon his List. *Monk* at last prevailed with the House to bring the number to Seven.

Colonel *John Jones*, who had acted as a Member of the High Court of Justice, being walking one Evening at some distance from his Lodging to take the Air, was seized, and sent Prisoner to the *Tower* by Order of the House; together with Mr. *Gregory Clement*
another

another of those Judges, who had conceal'd himself at a mean House near *Grays Inn*. But some Persons having observ'd that better Provisions were carried to that Place than had been usual, procured an Officer to search the House, where they found Mr. *Clement*, and presuming him to be one of the King's Judges, tho' they knew him not personally, carried him before the Commissioners of the Militia for that Precinct: One of these Commissioners, to whom he was not unknown, after a slight Examination, had prevailed with the rest to dismiss him; but as he was about to withdraw, it happen'd that a blind Man who had crowd'd into the Room, and was acquainted with the Voice of Mr. *Clement*, which was very remarkable, desired he might be called in again; and demanded, if he was not Mr. *Gregory Clement*. The Commissioners not knowing how to refuse his Request, permitted the Question to be ask'd; and he not denying himself to be the Man, was by that means discovered, and sent to the *Tower* likewise.

Many of the Judges pass'd over into *Holland* and other Parts beyond the Seas, divers of them not without great Danger of being surprized. Of these, Mr. *Cornelius Holland* being at *Colchester*, in order to depart with the first occasion, the Mayor of the Town was inform'd that a suspected Person was lodged at a certain Inn; and that they sup-

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posed

posed him to be Major General *Lambert*. Upon this Notice the Inn was searched, and his Horse with other Things seized at Four in the Morning: But Mr. *Holland* was already gone Abroad to receive a Sum of Mony from a Merchant of the Place, who was to begin a Journey to *London* early that day; and having received Advice of what had passed at the Inn, he was by the favour of a Friend convey'd out of Town, and by that means made his Escape.

The new King being suddenly expected, great Numbers of those who had been Officers in the Cavalier Army, or were otherwise Zealous for him, procured Horses and Cloths, for the most part upon Credit, and formed themselves into Troops under the Lord *Litchfield*, Lord *Cleveland*, and that Apostate *Brown* the Wood-monger, in order to attend him at his Reception. And News being brought that he was put out to Sea, *Monk*, accompanied with a Guard of Horse, marched to *Dover*, and received him at his Landing: The King embraced him, kissed him, and called him Father; and it might be truly said, that in some respects they were very nearly Allied. At *Canterbury* the King presented him with the George and Garter; the first was put on by the Duke of *York*, the other by the Duke of *Gloucester*. And because it was suspected that the Army which had fought against him, might still retain some of their
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former Inclinations: It was resolved that the King, with his Brothers, shall lodge at the House of Colonel *Gibbons*, one of their Officers, at *Rocheſter*. Many Knights were made in this Journey, and Bonfires were to be ſeen in great Numbers on the Road; the inconstant Multitude in ſome places burning the Badges of their own Freedom, the Arms of the Common-wealth. *Monk's* Army was drawn up on *Blackheath*, and by the beſt Judges was thought to deſerve the Fool's Coat rather than the Souldier's Caſaque.

The Lord Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen of the City, treated their King with a Colation under a Tent, placed in *St. George's Fields*; and Five or Six Hundred Citizens cloathed in Coats of black Velvet, and (not improperly) wearing Chains about their Necks, by an Order of the Common Council, attended on the Triumph of that day; with much more empty Pageantry which I purpoſely omit: But I muſt not paſs over the Folly and Insolence manifeſted at that time by thoſe who had been ſo often Deſeated in the Field, and had contributed nothing either of Bravery or Policy to this Change, in ordering the Souldiery to ride with Swords drawn through the City of *London* to *White-Hall*, the Duke of *York* and *Monk* leading the Way; and intimating (as was ſuppoſed) a Reſolution to maintain that by Force which had been obtain'd by Fraud.

The Lords, with those who sat in the House of Commons, received the King at *Whitehall* after this tedious Cavalcade, where the Speakers of both Houses loaded him with Complements; and took the best Care they could to make him believe himself to be the best, greatest and bravest Prince in the whole World. His answer to them was short, by Reason, as he said, of his present Discomposure caused by the great Acclamations he had received in his Passage, which yet he pretended had been very agreeable to him, as they were Expressions of the Affections of his People.

Most of those who had attended this Entry, finding the Streets through which they had passed to be full of People, returned to the City by the way of *Holborn*; by which means I had a View of them from the House where I then was. And, I confess, it was a strange Sight to me, to see the Horse that had formerly belonged to our Army, now put upon an Employment so different from that which they had at first undertaken; especially, when I consider'd that for the most part they had not been raised out of the meanest of the People, and without distinction, as other Armies had been; but that they consisted of such as had engaged themselves from a Spirit of Liberty in the Defence of their Rights and Religion: But having been corrupted under the Tyranny of *Cromwell*, and kept up as a standing Force

Force against the People, they had forgotten their first Engagements, and were become as Mercenary as other Troops are accustomed to be.

The Dissolution and Drunkenness of that Night was so great and scandalous, in a Nation which had not been acquainted with such Disorders for many Years past, that the King, who still stood in need of the Presbyterian party which had betray'd all into his Hands, for their Satisfaction, caused a Proclamation to be publish'd, forbidding the drinking of Healths. But resolving, for his own part, to be oblig'd to no Rule of any Kind, he publicly violated his own Order in a few days, at a Debauch in the Mulberry Garden; and more privately at another Meeting in the City, where he drank Healths to the utmost Excess till two in the Morning.

The Bill of Indemnity being not yet finished, the Commons, out of a tender Care for their own Persons and Estates, resolving to make it ready with all Diligence, proceeded to the Nomination of the seven Persons who were to be excepted for Condemning the late King to Death; and having agreed that Major General *Harrison*, *John Lisle*, Esq; and *William Say*, Esq; should be three of that Number, it was contrived that a Letter should be brought to *Monk* at that instant (not without Suspicion that he was the Author of the Design, to the end I might be inserted) informing

ing him, that I was in Arms at the Head of several hundred Men, in one of the Islands called the *Holmes*, and had declared against this Convention. The Letter being communicated to the House, who were ready to give Credit to any thing of that Nature, had probably answered the end of the Contrivers of this Design, if something, of which I was not inform'd, had not obliged them to adjourn abruptly. Yet upon this Alarum, one of my Friends in this House, who had served in the King's Army, and to whom I had been formerly useful at the time of his Composition, came in a great surprize to one that was his Sister-in-Law, and also related to me, acquainting her with the Report; and telling her that he had engaged many Members, that were of the King's Party, to be for me; but that, if this should prove to be true, neither they nor he could possibly serve me; and therefore desired her to give me Notice with all Diligence of what had passed, that I might take some Course to satisfy the Parliament of the Falshood of this Rumour. She promised him to endeavour so to do, and in the mean time assured him that she knew the Report to be false. Upon this Assurance, which he immediately reported to the Party above-mention'd, I am inclined to believe it chiefly came to pass, that when they proceeded to compleat the Number of Seven, who were to be excepted both for Life and Estate, and had

agreed

agreed that Colonel *John Jones*, Mr. *Cornelius Holland*, and Mr. *Thomas Scot*, should be added to the three before mentioned, a Motion being made by one Colonel *Skipwith* that I might be the seventh Man, he was not seconded: So that another Member proposing Colonel *Barkstead*, and no Man daring to say any thing either in Extenuation of the pretended Crime, or Commendation of the Persons concerned, he was voted to fill up the Number. Chief Justice *Coke*, who had been Solicitor to the High Court of Justice, Mr. *Broughton* who had been Clerk, and Mr. *Edward Dendy* their Serjeant at Arms, were also excepted in the same manner. And that no Means of gratifying the Passions of our Enemies might be omitted, having already, under pretence that some of the late King's Judges were fled, order'd their Estates to be seized; it was contrived by the Creatures of the Court, who were a great part of the House, that a Petition should be drawn and presented to the King, to issue out a Proclamation for requiring all those of the late King's Judges and others therein named, to surrender themselves within the Space of Fourteen Days, under Pain of Exception from the Benefit of the Act, both for Life and Estate.

This Petition having had its rise from the Court, and on that account received with Joy by the King, soon produced a Proclamation

as had been desired, which being published near my Lodgings, I heard the Officer distinctly, as he read it aloud to the People. But I found it difficult to resolve what to do: For tho' the Proclamation from *Breda* had declared the King would be satisfied, if some few Persons who had an immediate Hand in the Death of his Father, might be excepted from the Indemnity; yet finding himself now possess'd of the Throne, 'twas visible to all Men that he used the utmost of his Endeavours to influence the House of Commons to greater Severities than were at first pretended; and partly for Rapine, partly for Revenge, to except a great number of those, who had taken part with the Parliament, from any Benefit of the Act except only as to Life, their Estates being declared to be confiscated to the King. Among those who appeared the most basely subservient to these Exorbitancies of the Court, Mr. *William Prynne* was singularly remarkable, bringing in a Clause for excepting all those who had taken the Oath at the Council of State for abjuring the Family of the *Stuarts*, which the Clerk undertaking to read without any Order of the House, Mr. *Clergies* Brother-in-Law to *Monk*, perceiving that Vice-Admiral *Lawson* would by this means be excluded from Pardon, and knowing that *Monk* had engaged to bring him off clear, most sharply rebuked the Clerk for his Officiousness, and with the help of his Friends put a stop to that Motion.

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The Commons being acquainted, by Sir *Harbottle Grimston* their Speaker, That Mr. *William Heveningham*, Mr. *Simon Mayne*, and others of the late King's Judges had rendred themselves into his Hands according to the late Proclamation, order'd them to be in the Custody of the Serjeant at Arms attending the House: Which when some of my Friends and Relations heard, they consulted what might be best for me to do in this Conjunction. Some were of Opinion I should surrender my self as others had done. Others were unwilling to advise in a Case wherein my Life was concerned; yet gave some obscure Intimation, that if they were in my Condition, they would not put themselves into the Hands of their Enemies: And one of them who was not unacquainted with the publick Affairs, gave it for his Opinion, That I should by no means render my self. Of this I received an Account by my Wife. But not being in the number of the Seven who were to be excepted, and my Affairs by reason of the sudden Change altogether unsettled, I was willing to improve the present Opportunity, and if I might have no Favour in relation to my Estate, yet to settle at least my private Affairs as well as I could. To this end I inclined to surrender my self according to the Proclamation, and drew up a Petition containing in Substance, That whereas I had engaged with the Parliament on the behalf of the Commonwealth,

wealth, and had discharged the Trust reposed in me with as much Tenderneſs to thoſe of the contrary Party as my Fidelity to the Parliament would permit, Providence having order'd that the former Government ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in this Nation, I thought it my Duty as a Member of the Commonwealth, to declare my Reſolution to ſubmit to the preſent Powers, that I might with the reſt of the good People of *England* enjoy the Benefit of their Protection. Having ſigned this Paper, and preſuming upon the Friendſhip of Mr. *Anneſley*, I ſent it to him by my Wife deſiring his Advice. But he being lately ſworn a Privy Counſellor, and with his Condition altering his Manners, when he had peruſed the Paper, he delivered it again to my Wife and ſaid, That the Lieutenant-General was very good at drawing Letters of Recommendation. My Wife told him, That what was contained in that Paper was as much as my Conſcience would give me leave to ſay; and received for Answer, That then I ſhould do better to ſay nothing; which was not altogether without Reason; for ſome of thoſe who had petitioned the Houſe, and not acknowledged themſelves guilty of a Fault, were for that Cauſe excepted, who otherwiſe, as Men thought, would not have been ſo treated.

There being ſome Relation between the Earl of *Ormond* and me, I directed my Wife
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to apply her self to him on this occasion. He received her with great Civilities, and made her large Promises, pressing her with great Importunity to acquaint him, if I were in *England*. But she desired to be excused in that Particular, as a thing not proper to be communicated to any Person in such a Conjunction. In the mean time my Friend, whom I mentioned before, continued to advise that I should not by any means render my self, affirming that the House of Lords would not fail to make some addition to the Exceptions, and that some of them had intimated that I was likely to be One. Being not a little surprized with this Information, tho' the Reasons above-mentioned inclined me to surrender my self, yet I was unwilling to expose my Life to the Fancies of such an uncertain sort of Men; and therefore by my direction, my Wife went to Sir *Harbottle Grimeston*, and acquainted him with the state of my Affairs, and the Doubts which I lay under, of which he seemed very sensible, communicating his Thoughts very freely to her, and telling her, That it was his Opinion the Lords would rest satisfied with what had been done; but if they should not, it would be the most horrid thing in the World, should the House of Commons agree with them in excepting any Man who had render'd himself: But withal acquainted her, That the House was so composed, that no Man could undertake to tell
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what they would not do ; adding, That he should dine that day with Mr. *Hollis* and other leading Men of the Parliament, and that he would inform himself from them touching that Particular, of which he would then give her the best Advice he could. The time which he had fixed being come , my Wife went to him again, and was informed by him, That he had been with that Company he had mentioned to her, and had found them all to be of Opinion that the House would never be guilty of so unworthy an Action ; and therefore advised her to persuade me to come in, giving her an Order under his Hand to secure me from any seizure in my way to him, and promising to speak to the Serjeant at Arms to be moderate in his Demands of Caution for my Appearance. Under the favour of this Warrant I went to a Place where divers of my Friends were, in order to seal some Writings for settling my private Affairs, which was the principal Motive that had prevailed with me to render myself ; and having dispatch'd that Business, I went to the Speaker's Chamber ; who being not there, I took Mr. *James Herbert*, a Member of the Convention, with me to the House of the Serjeant at Arms , where finding that he had received Orders from Sir *Harbottle Grimeston* concerning me, Mr. *Herbert* gave his Word for my Appearance, till I should procure Personal Security. This Engage-
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ment made me very uneasie; for I thought my self oblig'd, what-ever might become of me, to take care that Mr. *Herbert* might not suffer for his Friendship to me. But after two or three days I prevailed with the Serjeant to accept the Security I had provided: They were, my Unkle Colonel *Thomas Stradling*, who had been constantly of the King's Party; and by being engaged for some Debts of his Brother Sir *Edward Stradling*, had ruin'd his Fortune: The second was Colonel *Edward Sutton*, one Knighted by the King since his Return, and who had no other Estate than in the Right of his Wife: The third was one Mr. *Etherington*, who had been Possessor of a considerable Estate; but for many Years past had not been worth any thing: The fourth was *Thomas Ashton*, a Citizen of *London*, who had been my Taylor; but was now in the same Condition with Mr. *Etherington*. Colonel *Sutton* was Arrested as he was coming to me, and by that means prevented; Mr. *Etherington* being furnished with a clean Band, Hat and Cloak, passed without dispute; so did *Ashton*, and of Colonel *Stradling* there was no colour to doubt. I gave the two first a little Mony, with which they were well pleased; and I was abundantly satisfied that this Business passed thus over.

When Sir *Harbottle Grimeston* having reported to the House that I had render'd my self, and desired to know their Pleasure concerning

cerning me ; some of my Friends moved that I might be continued in the Custody of the Serjeant at Arms, which being put to the Question, was accordingly order'd. Whilst these things were doing, my Lady *Vane* told my Wife, that Mrs. *Monk* had said, she would go upon her Knees to the King, and beg that Sir *Henry Vane*, Major General *Lambert*, and Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, might die without Mercy ; and one of my Friends who frequented the Court, assured me, he heard *Monk* saying to the King, That there was not a Man in the three Nations more violent against him, or more dangerous to his Interests than I was ; to which the King made answer, That he had been otherwise informed by many of his Party, who had received Civilities from me in their Troubles. But that which made me most sensible of my Danger, was, that Secretary *Maurice*, with whom I had been acquainted for some time, not knowing that I had rendred my self to the Speaker, told a Person whom he knew to be my Friend, That where-ever I was, I should do well to be upon my Guard ; for if I should be taken, I was a dead Man.

Some Members of this Convention, who had engaged to do me all the good Offices they could, presuming the House would proceed forthwith to impose certain Fines upon those of the late King's Judges who had rendred themselves ; and therefore desiring to see
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a particular of my Estate, that they might know how to moderate my Fine when it should be debated, I drew it up as well as I could at that distance from my Papers, and sent it to them. And now my Friends supposing my Business to go on prosperously in the House of Commons, began to apply themselves to the Lords on my behalf, in Case they should add any farther Exceptions to the Bill of Indemnity; and received Promises of Assistance from all they thought fit to ask, except only the Earl of *Northampton*; who said to my Wive's Father, That I had been a great Enemy to the King: However, I made the best use I could of this time in settling my private Affairs; and my Brother *Kempson* had prevail'd with my Lord *Broghil* to write to Sir *Charles Coote*, that my Stock might be delivered to him upon Security to be responsible where it should be adjudged to belong. But *Coote* was so far from satisfying either his own Conscience or the Lord *Broghil* in this matter, that fearing I might be in a Condition to call him to account for the Injustice he had done to me; he wrote a Letter to the King, in which having first inveyed against me as the most bitter of all his Enemies; he informed him, That dining with me one day at my House, I had assured him, that *Cromwel* had not proceeded to Extremities against the late King, if I had not pressed him, and almost forced him to that Resolution

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tion: And for Confirmation of the Truth of this, he desired that the Lord *Broghil*, who, he said, had dined with me the same day, might me interrogated. But when the King asked my Lord *Broghil* concerning this Business, he protested, he had not charged his Memory with any such thing; adding, That he thought it unbecoming a Man of Honour to remember any thing to the prejudice of a Gentleman who had spoken freely at his own Table.

The Army being not yet disbanded, the King thought convenient in some measure still to cajeole the Presbyterian party; and therefore Mr. *Richard Baxter*, and Mr. *Edmund Calamy*, were appointed to be his Chaplains in Ordinary. But he could not forbear, on some Occasions, to discover his Contempt of the Men of that Sort, particularly when Mr. *Cafe*, who thought he had deserved highly of the King, would have pressed with his usual freedom into his Presence; and being denied entrance, had sent in his Name, tho' in answer to his importunity he was admitted; yet by the Carriage of those who were present, and derided his Habit and unmannerly way of Approaching the King, he might easily perceive how disagreeable his Company was in that Place. Yet the King having demanded what he had to say, he told him he had a Word of Advice to his Majesty; and going on to perswade him to a Care of his Party, he was interrupted

interrupted by the King, who said he did not remember that he had made him one of his Council. However, the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Earl of *Manchester*, the Lord *Roberts*, and Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, were sworn of his Privy Council; and the Earl of *Manchester* made Chamberlain of the Household. But *Monk*, for a Reward of his Treachery to those who had entrusted him, not only received the Garter, but was continued to be General of all the Forces; and obtained the Parchment Honour of Duke of *Albermarle*, with divers Pensions and Lands of great Value. To these Favours was added the Charge of Master of the Horse, which by the Industry of his Wife, who having been an Exchange-woman knew how to drive a Bargain, was by the Sale of Places improved to the utmost Advantage.

Having acquainted those who had answered for my Appearance at the time when they entered into that Obligation, of my Intentions to withdraw my self, if I should find my Life in danger; I took care at all times when the House was sitting; least I should be surprized and seized by an Order from them, to cause the Gates of my House, which were divers, to be well guarded; and for the most part retired to some other place during that time. When the House was up, I used to take more Liberty, having daily Advice from some Members of what had passed among them.

The Bill of Indemnity being brought to the Lords, a great Contention arose concerning the number of Persons to be excepted; the Widow of Dr. *Hewet*, with Mrs. *Penraddock*, and divers others soliciting them with such importunity for particular Satisfaction, on account of their Relations who had been put to death, that they found themselves oblig'd to appoint a Committee to hear their Demands. The Lords also were inclined to Revenge their own Order on the Persons of some in the High Court of Justice, by whom some of their Number had been Condemn'd, and to except one of the Judges for every Lord they had put to death; the Nomination of the Person to be excepted being referred to that Lord who was most nearly related to the Person that had suffered. According to this Rule, Colonel *Croxtan* was nominated by the next Relation to the Earl of *Derby*, Major *Waring* by the Kinsman of another, and Colonel *Titchburn* by a third: The Earl of *Denbigh*, whose Sister had been married to the Duke of *Hamilton*, being desired by the Lords to nominate one to be excepted, in Satisfaction for the death of his Brother-in-Law, named a Person who had been some time dead, of which some of the House being inform'd, they called upon him to name another; but he said, That since it had so fallen out, he desired to be excused from naming any more. This Action, tho' seeming

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to proceed from Chance, was generally esteemed to have been voluntary, the Earl of *Denbigh* being known to be a generous Man, and a lover of his Country.

And now the Royal Party, in the House of Lords, began to discover their Intentions to except all the King's Judges from the Benefit of the Indemnity, which was communicated to me by Sir *John Winter*, Secretary to the Queen-Mother, in a Visit he made me at my House: He also inform'd me, that Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, and the Marquis of *Argyle*, had been seized and sent to the *Tower* by the King's Order. In conclusion, he said, That whilst the King was treating with *Monk* about his Restitution, and considering that I was then at the Head of the Parliament's Forces in *Ireland*, he had acquainted him, that he had no greater difficulty to encounter than how to prevent me from obstructing the Design; and that he would have given me any Conditions, to have been assured of my Service: From all which Considerations, he advised me rather to withdraw my self, than to submit to the Mercy of my Enemies.

Colonel *Ingoldsby* on account of his Service, in the Suppression of the Party that had follow'd Major General *Lambert*, was not accepted from the Act; nor Colonel *Hutchinson*, though he had bin as Zealous against the late King, at the time of his Tryal, as any other

of his Judges. But having joyned with *Monk* in his treacherous Design, he had obtained a Pardon from the King, whilst he was beyond Sea. It was agreed in the House, That Colonel *Adrian Scroop* and Colonel *Lassels* should have the benefit of the Act, paying one Years value of their Estates. Major *Lister* was not inserted, as was supposed, by the Credit and Interest of Mr. *William Pierrepont* ; and Colonel *Thomlinson* was excused upon information given to the House by Mr. *Seymour*, that the late King, when he waited on him a Day or two before he Suffered, signified to him his Pleasure, that the Colonel should receive Favour on account of his civil Carriage to him, during his Confinement. But the Son would not think this to be sufficient for his Exemption ; declaring to some about him, that he ought of all Men to be excepted, because he had an Opportunity, and a fair offer to let his Father Escape, which he refused. On this ground the Earl of *Litchfield* moved for his Exception : But the Earl of *Bristol* being engaged for *Thomlinson*, and presuming to be better acquainted with the King's Intentions, undertook to reprove the Earl of *Litchfield* so sharply, that the Dispute had almost ended in a Quarrel.

These Contestations and Delays in finishing the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion, made the People not only murmur, but begin to doubt, that nothing of that Nature would be
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passed for their Security ; especially, after the Earl of *Bristol* had made a Speech in the House of Lords, which according to his manner of Ostentation he caused to be Printed ; where after much boasting of his important Employments abroad, he desired that the Act might pass with the Exception only of those who had a Hand in the death of the King, who, he moved, might be more particularly described in another Bill to be drawn for that purpose. By which no Man could know whether he intended not, that not only his Judges and the Members who sat after the Year 1648. with those who petitioned for Justice against him, but even all those who had in any way contributed to make War for the Parliament should be excepted. But the Court having not yet disbanded the Army, would not venture too far in irritating the People ; and therefore pressed that the Bill might be hastned to a Conclusion.

Great Endeavours were used by the Friends of those who had been excepted in the House of Commons, to procure them to be omitted by the Lords : And the Earl of *Litchfield* soliciting the Lord *Sturton* for his Vote in the behalf of Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, received his Promise to that effect, on condition he would engage to be for me on the like Occasion. Of this the Lord *Sturton* informed me in a Visit he and his Lady were pleased to make me in that Conjunction.

Having observed which way the Lords inclined, I drew up the State of the Case, as well as I could, of those who had rendred themselves upon the Proclamation, accompanied with such Reasons as then occur'd to my Thoughts, why the House of Commons should not agree to any Enlargement of the Exceptions made by them: This Paper I design'd for the Press; but having sent it to Mr. *Henry Martin* for his Opinion, he returned for answer, That unless my Name were subscribed, the House of Lords would not fail to call it a Libel; and therefore advised that it should be presented in the form of a Petition, upon which I laid it aside.

Divers Messages were sent from *Whitehall* by *Hyde* and others to the Lords, for the dispatch of the Bill; but meeting with little success, by reason of many Obstructions that were continually laid in the way, the King came in Person to the House, and pressed them to Expedition, thanking the Lords for excepting those who had been the Judges of the King his Father; *Who*, he said, *were guilty of such a Crime, that they could not Pardon themselves, much less expect it from others.* By which he not only manifested his own revengeful Temper, and the little regard he had to the Promise he had made in his Proclamation from *Breda*, to refer himself wholly to the Parliament for Pardoning what had been done during the late Troubles; but his

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Imprudence in this so early Violation of the Privileges of the Parliament, by taking notice of what was depending in the two Houses, before it came to be judicially presented to him ; and by that means fomenting a Division between them concerning an Affair in which he himself was principally interested. He told them, *Other ways might be found to meet with those who were of turbulent and factious Spirits* ; insinuating, if I mistake not, that his Intentions were not to be guided by the Direction of the Laws, but that he had some secret Reserves to render the Act of Indemnity insignificant ; concluding with desires, that they would be careful to make Provision for his Irish Subjects, who had manifested great Affection to him during his Exile ; expressing the same Zeal in the latter part of his Speech for the bloody Irish Rebels, as he had done in the former, against those who had dared to defend the Liberties of *England*. And by this means the Irish grew immediately to that Confidence, that one *Fitz-harris* publicly affirmed in *Westminster-Hall*, That they were the best Subjects the King had ; and for that reason should be soon restored to the Possession of their Lands ; of which the House being informed, they committed him to the *Gate-house* ; but after two days, he was by the Prevalency of the Court Faction discharged from his Imprisonment.

The King, who had not only an inclination to re-establish the Irish in their Estates, but had by a Treaty formerly made with them, obliged himself to that Condition, found no small difficulty to carry fair with those of the Army, who were concerned in the confiscated Lands. He was not willing to send any one into that Government, who should be ungrateful to the Irish; and durst not employ such as he and they desired, for fear of the English: For an Expedient therefore, it was proposed that the Lord *Roberts* should be sent as Deputy to *Monk*, who when he contracted to sell his Masters, had desired the Lieutenancy of *Ireland* for himself: But being told, that if he would have that Employment, he must go over and execute it in his own Person; he thought not convenient to accept it on those Terms, apprehending that it would be no hard matter to Supplant and Ruin him in his Absence. However, the Lord *Roberts* had the Title of Deputy, and was addressed by that Name; but finding he had only served for a present Occasion, he desired to be re-called from that Employment.

Finding my Friends to grow every day more apprehensive of the Dangers that threatened me, I removed from my House; and on this Occasion received a Signal Testimony of the Friendship of Chief Justice *Coke*, who being little Sollicitous for himself, solemnly pro-
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tested in a Message he sent me, That if he were in no hazard on this Occasion, he would willingly lay down his Life to secure mine, who, he was pleased to say, might be more useful to the Publick, than he could hope to be.

The Earl of *Antrim*, an Irish Papist, and principally concerned in the Rebellion of that Country, had been seized at the same time with the Marquis of *Argyle*, tho' for a different Reason; the latter for his Services in the Cause of Liberty and Religion, the former for unseasonably affirming, That the Irish were authorized by the late King to act as they had done. Both these Lords coming to *London* to Congratulate the Restitution of the King, were sent to the *Tower*; The Laird of *Swintown* was also made Prisoner, and sent in Custody to the same Place. The cause of his seizure was at first reported to be for designing to Stab the King, as he was pretending to Cure the Disease called the King's Evil: But afterwards they changed their Language, and gave out that it was for deserting the *Scots* after the Battle of *Dunbar*, and rendering himself to *Oliver Cromwell*. Sir *Henry Vane* and Sir *Arthur Haslerig* were also seized, under the pretext that they had endeavoured to persuade divers Officers of the Army to form a Party in order to oppose the present Power. But this soon appeared to be a Fiction, and that the design was to take away their lives by any means; the King, when he heard
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they were in Custody, offering to lay a Wager they should not escape. Colonel *Axtel*, who had behaved himself honestly and bravely in the Service of the Commonwealth, was about the same time trapann'd by a Cavalier, under pretence of treating with him for the Purchase of some Lands, and sent Prisoner to the *Tower*.

The Lords being pressed, as I mention'd before, to dispatch the Act of Indemnity, came at last to this Result, touching the twenty Persons proposed by the Commons to be excepted from all other Benefit of the Act, except only as to Life, That Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, Major General *Lambert*, and Colonel *Axtel*, should be excepted both as to Life and Estate; the other sixteen to be made incapable of any Office or Employment in Church or State. The News of this Resolution being carried to the King by the Duke of *York*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, and *Monk*, he openly expressed his Joy; and when they told him, that the Chief Justice *St. John's* had narrowly escaped, he wish'd he had been added also; of which Particulars I received Information by a Person of Honour then present, immediately after they had parted.

The next thing to be considered, was how to treat those of the late King's Judges who had rendred themselves upon the Proclamation, which held no long Debate; those who
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were inclined to do that which was just, decent and reasonable, being far the lesser number: Yet the Earl of *Southampton* had the Courage to move, That since it was not thought fit to secure the lives of those who had been induced to surrender their Persons upon the Faith of the Proclamation, they ought at least to give them the like number of days for saving themselves, as were appointed by that Paper for their coming in: But *Finch*, who had formerly fled from the Justice of the Parliament, opposed that motion, and said, That by such means they might be enabled to do more Mischief (as he knew had happened in his own Case): Upon this, Mr. *Thomas Challoner*, with those of the Judges who had rendred themselves, were put into the Exception for Life and Estate; Sir *Henry Mildmay*, Mr. *Robert Wallop*, the Lord *Mounson*, Sir *James Harrington*, Mr. *James Challoner*, and Mr. *John Phelps*, were excepted from receiving any Benefit of their Estates, and subjected to such farther Punishments as should be inflicted upon them, their Lives only to be preserved: Colonel *Hacker* who was one of those to whom the Warrant of the High Court of Justice, for the Execution of the King had been directed, together with Mr. *Hugh Peters*, and the two Persons who were in Mask upon the Scaffold when he was Beheaded, were excepted by the Lords both for Life and Estate.

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The Bill with these Alterations being sent down to the House of Commons for their Concurrence, seemed unwilling to Sacrifice those, who upon Invitation and Promise of Favour, had rendred themselves; and therefore refused to consent to the Exception of Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, Sir *Henry Vane*, and Major General *Lambert* from the Benefit of the Act as to their Lives; some of them saying in the House, That those Gentlemen having had no immediate Hand in the death of the King, there was as much Reason to except most of themselves. Yet they agreed to except Colonel *Daniel Axtel*, Mr. *Hugh Peters*, and the rest as desired. And to shew their readiness to gratify the Revenge of those at the Helm with the Blood of as many as they could find any Colour to abandon; being inform'd that Mr. *John Carew*, who had not at all conceal'd himself, had been seized by a Warrant from a Justice of the Peace; that his Name being mistaken in the Warrant, and the Officer refusing to detain him till that Error should be amended, Mr. *Carew* had told him that he was, as he conceiv'd, the Person designed to be seized, and therefore acquainted him with the Place to which he was going; yet for all this (tho' happening within the fourteen days limited by the Proclamation, and on the way to *London*, where such Persons were directed to render themselves) the major part of the House of Commons voted this not to be

be a Surrender, and excepted him both in Life and Estate. Mr. *Gregory Clement* being already a Prisoner in the *Tower*, was put into the same Condition: And Colonel *Adrian Scroop*, tho' he had rendred himself within the time limited by the Proclamation, and tho' the Commons had declared themselves contented with the Forfeiture of a Years Value of his Estate; yet upon information from that Renegado *Brown*, of some private discourse between them, in which the Colonel, as he said, had justified the part he had in doing Justice upon the late King; they condemn'd him without a Hearing, and added him to the Exception both in respect to Life and Estate: An Action of such a Nature, that I shall forbear to give it the Name it deserves. But the King not satisfied with these Sacrifices, greedy of Revenge, and forgetting his Message from *Breda*, encouraged his Creatures in the House of Lords to insist upon their Exceptions; but the Commons being averse to break the publick Faith in every particular, a Conference of both Houses was appointed; in which some of the lower House pressing the Promise of the Proclamation, the Chancellor presumed to affirm, That the Proclamation was only in the Nature of a *Subpœna*: But the Commons were not satisfied with this Definition.

Having received Advice from divers Persons of Honour, That the Court was enrag-
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ed that I had not been excepted, and that *Robinson*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, had declared his Resolution to move the House that their Prisoners in the Serjeant's Custody might be committed to the *Tower*, my Servants having also acquainted me that the Serjeant had endeavoured to inform himself if I continued still at my House, I resolved not to appear any more in Publick; and having the offer of a House near *Richmond* for my Retirement I went down thither, where I passed some days very quietly, and had the advantage of walking in the Park. Having one day made an Excursion as far as Major General *Lambert's* House at *Wimbleton*, I perceived Words to this effect written on the out-side of a Banqueting-house, *The way to ruin Enemies, is to divide their Councils*; which Lesson had he practised, the Confusions brought upon the Nation had possibly been avoided.

During these Contests between the two Houses, touching the Exceptions to be made, Sir *John Bouchier*, who had been one of the King's Judges, and had rendred himself within the time limited by the Proclamation, being of a great Age and very Infirm, was permitted to lodge at a private House belonging to one of his Daughters. In this place he was seiz'd with so dangerous a Fit of Illness, that those about him who were his nearest Relations, despairing of his Recovery; and presuming that an Acknowledgment from him
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of his Sorrow, for the part he had in the Condemnation of the King, might tend to procure some Favour to them from those in Power, they earnestly pressed him to give them that Satisfaction. But he being highly displeased with their Request, rose suddenly from his Chair, which for some days he had not been able to do without Assistance; and receiving fresh Vigour from the Memory of that Action, said, I tell you, It was a just Act; God, and all good Men will own it. And having thus expressed himself, he sat down again, and soon after quietly ended his Life.

The Court Party among the Commons, tho' they could not bring the House to an intire Violation of the publick Faith; yet so far prevailed that they consented to sacrifice the Estate and Liberty of Sir *Arthur Haslerig*; and that Sir *Henry Vane*, with Major General *Lambert* should be excepted both for Life and Estate, with this Reserve, That if upon Tryal they shall be found Guilty, the two Houses then to join in a Petition to the King for the Pardon of their Lives. But the Lords finding they could not bring the Commons to a full Compliance in the matter of Exceptions, desired another Conference; which being agreed, the Chancellor, after he had endeavoured to persuade them, that the difference between the two Houses was rather in Form than Substance, offer'd for an Expedient, that no Sentence to be pronounced against

gainst any of those that had been added by the Lords, should be executed otherwise than by Act of Parliament; telling them he assured himself they would accept this Proposition, and hoped also that none of the King's Judges, who after their surrender, might withdraw themselves from their Protection, should participate of this Favour; which last Clause I took to be particularly levell'd at me, having been informed that the Serjeant's Deputy attended with Souldiers, had very lately searched my House.

At last the Commons, partly from Inclination and partly for their own Safety, consented to pass the Alterations as they had been made by the Lords; (or rather by the King) which Business being over, the House order'd the Serjeant at Arms to deliver those of the King's Judges who were in his Custody, into the Hands of the Lieutenant of the Tower. They were Colonel *Adrian Scroop*, Mr. *William Heveningham*, Mr. *George Fleetwood*, Colonel *James Temple*, Mr. *Peter Temple*, Mr. *Henry Smith*, Mr. *Simon Mayne*, Colonel *Thomas Wyte*, Colonel *John Downs*, Colonel *Vincent Potter*, Mr. *Henry Martin*, Colonel *Edmund Harvey*, Alderman *Isaac Pennington*, Mr. *Gilbert Millington*, Colonel *Robert Lilborn*, Mr. *Augustin Garland*, and Colonel *Owen Roe*. Sir *Hardress Waller*, who had been in *France*, return'd to *England* upon the Proclamation and rendred himself; but
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finding his Surrender not like to answer his Expectation, he had withdrawn together with Alderman *Titchburn* from the Serjeant at Arms; yet upon farther Consideration, they both came in. So that when by Order of the House, the Serjeant was called to give an account of his Prisoners, and had acquainted them that I was not to be found, a Motion was made to add my Name to those who were excepted both for Life and Estate: But one Mr. *Swanton* a Member of this House, and my Country-man, moving, that before they should proceed to Extremities, they would examine the Bond I had given for my Appearance, to see if I had broken the Condition; they let it drop for that time, hoping that by this seeming Gentleness I might be persuaded to submit.

Information of these things being sent to me by the above-mention'd Mr. *Swanton* and Colonel *Henley*, who was also a Member, I repair'd privately to *London*, in order to consult with some Friends touching the course I should take in this Conjunction. Upon which my Wife went to Sir *Harbotile Grimeston*, then Speaker of the House; and finding him still to persist in his Advice for my Surrender, she took the liberty to say, That she apprehended great danger in that Counsel; because she thought those, who to gratifie the Court, had already so far receeded from their own Resolutions, and permitted that Persons who

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had rendred themselves upon the faith of the late Proclamation, should be excepted both as to Life and Estate, tho' with the Limitation mentioned, might justly be suspected of being capable to be drawn yet farther; and to consent, that after they should be declared Guilty, an Act might pass for putting the Sentence in Execution. But tho' it were supposed that this House would never be induced to such an Action; yet they might be dissolved, and the Persons excepted kept in Prison, till such should be procured to sit in that Place who would not be so scrupulous; especially since it was visible that the Clause of Limitation was so doubtful, that it might afford a Pretence for interpreting it to be intended not only of this, but of any Parliament that should think fit to use their Power against the Persons excepted. The Speaker seemed much offended with this discourse; and going down the stairs with her, told her he would wash his Hands of my Blood, by assuring her, That if I would surrender myself, my life would be as safe as his own; but if I refused to hearken to his Advice, and should happen to be seized, I was like to be the first Man they would execute, and she to be left the poorest Widow in *England*. But another of my Friends who was well acquainted with the Designs of the Court, and had all along advised me not to trust their Favour; now repeated his Persuasions to withdraw

draw out of *England*, assuring, that if I staid I was lost; and that the same fate attended Sir *Henry Vane* and others, notwithstanding all Engagements to the contrary. He added, that there was a design on foot to seize the Estates of all those who had been Out-law'd in the late King's time, of which number my Father having been one, it would be difficult for me to escape Ruin on that account. The Advice of my Friend whom I had always found to be intirely sincere, and knew to be well inform'd of Affairs, was of great weight to induce me to resolve upon departing from *England*; in which Resolution I was confirmed by the friendly Counsel of the Lord *Ossey*, eldest Son to the Marquis of *Ormond*, who with divers others that had observed the Inconstancy and Irresolution, to say no worse, of those in the House of Commons in Sacrificing Mr. *Carew* and Colonel *Scroop* to the Revenge of the Enemy, concurr'd in giving the same Advice.

The time appointed for my departure from *England* being come, after I had settled my Affairs in the best manner I could, and taken leave of my dearest Friends and Relations, I went into a Coach about the close of the day, and passing through the City over *London-Bridge* to St. *George's Church* in *Southwark*, I found a Person ready to receive me with two Horses, one of which I mounted and began my Journey. My Guide was so well

acquainted with the Country, that we avoided all the considerable Towns on the Road, where we suspected any Souldiers might be Quartered; and the next Morning by break of day we arrived at *Lewis* without Interruption. On the *Tuesday* following, a small Vessel being prepared for my Transportation, I went on board; but the Wind blowing hard and the Vessel having no Deck, I removed into another that had been provided for me by a Merchant of *Lewis*, and was struck upon the Sands as she was falling down to receive me. This Vessel had carried over Mr. *Richard Cromwel* some Weeks before, and lay very commodiously for my Safety on that Occasion; for after I had enter'd into Her to secure my self from the Weather, till I might put to Sea in the other, the Searchers came on board my small Vessel to see what she carried, omitting to search that in which I was, not suspecting any Person or Thing to be in her, because she was struck upon the Sands. But the Storm still continuing, and the Men thinking not fit to put to Sea, we continued in the Harbour all that day and the night following; The Master, who had used the Ports of *Ireland* whilst I had been in that Country, among other things, enquiring if Lieutenant General *Ludlow* were not imprisoned with the rest of the King's Judges; to which I answer'd, That I had not heard of any such thing.

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The next Morning we set Sail, and had the Wind so favourable, that we arrived in the Harbour of *Diepe* that Evening before the Gates were shut ; where going ashore I was conducted by the Master, to the House of one *Madame de Caux* to whom I was recommended, where I was received with all possible Demonstrations of Civility ; the Gentlewoman leaving it to my Choice either to continue at her Habitation in *Diepe*, or to go to her House in the Country ; which last I chose to do, as well that I might enjoy the liberty of taking the Air, as to avoid the Irish who were in great numbers in the Town, and who probably might have seen me in *Ireland* when I served the Parliament. I had not been many days in this Place, when I received Letters from *England* with a Printed Proclamation inclosed, taking notice that I had withdrawn my self from the Officer's Custody, forbidding any Person to receive or entertain me under pain of High Displeasure ; requiring all Persons to seize and secure my Person, and proposing the Sum of three Hundred Pounds as a Reward for those who should perform this Service. These Letters accompanied with the earnest Desires of my Friends for my removal to some Place more distant from *England*, obliged me to think of leaving that Place ; and accordingly having prepared my self for my Journey, and taking leave of the good Family where I had been

so kindly received and entertain'd, I set forward for *Geneva*, and passing by *Rouen*, a place of great Trade and the Seat of one of the French Parliaments; I arrived in three Days at *Paris*. In this Town I viewed such things as were accounted remarkable, passing several Days in this Exercise. The *Louvre* seemed to me rather like a Garrison than a Court, being very full of Soldiers and Dirt. I saw the King's Stable of Horses, which tho not extraordinarily furnished, gave me more Pleasure than I should have received by seeing their Master, who thinks fit to treat them better than his miserable People. But I loathed to see such numbers of idle Drones, who in ridiculous Habits, wherein they place a great part of their Religion, are to be seen in every part, eating the Bread of the credulous Multitude, and leaving them to be distinguished from the Inhabitants of other Countries by thin Cheeks, Canvass Clothing and Wooden-Shoes.

Having made what stay I thought necessary in *Paris*, and taken Bills of Exchange for *Geneva*, I departed for *Lyons* in the Company of a *German* Lord, from whom I received great Civilities during the Journey. Being arrived at *Lyons*, tho the rest of the Company were examined, and obliged to give in their Names; yet, by I know not what Accident, none of the Officers asked me any Question of that nature, but permitted me to go quietly to
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the Inn that had been taken up for us, where we were no sooner enter'd, when divers Fryars of different Orders crowd'd in to beg or rather command something; one of these behaving himself in so lewd a manner, to a Youth who came in our Company from *Paris*, as oblig'd me to shew my Resentment of his Impudence. The next Day after my arrival at *Lyons*, I set forward for *Geneva*, continuing my Journey without interruption, till I came to the *Recluse*, about six Leagues distant from that City, where the King of France maintains a Garrison, because it lies upon his Frontier. Here I was inform'd they would examin us strictly, and oblige us to lodge our Arms with them; but they only desired Mony to Drink, which I willingly gave. The same Day I pass'd the River *Rhofne*, and understood that I was then within the Territories of *Geneva*, which was no small satisfaction to me, hoping I might enjoy some measure of quiet in that free City, and perhaps the Society of some of my Friends and Countrymen; divers of whom I knew had been necessitated to retire into Foreign Parts.

At *Geneva* I took up my Lodgings in the House of one Monsieur *Perrot*, who having serv'd in the Army of the Parliament understood the English Tongue; and having heard that Mr. *William Cawley* an able and antient Member of Parliament had pass'd through part of *France*, I hop'd to find him in this place;

but upon inquiry, I was informed, That there were no English Men in the Town, except one Mr. *Felton* and his Servant. In the House where I lodged, the Mistress being an English Woman, I found good Beer, which was a great refreshment to me, after the fatigue of my Journey, and constant use of Wines, by which my Body had been much distempered with Rheums. The next Day after my arrival, I received a Bill of Exchange, inclosed in a Letter from Monsieur *Marga*, a Banker of *Paris*, for six hundred Crowns, payable by a Merchant of *Geneva*; but having a considerable Sum remaining, of the Stock I brought with me from *London*, and received no Advice of that Supply, I writ to Monsieur *Marga*, to keep the Mony in his Hands till I should receive Letters from my Friends.

I had not been here many Days, before I was informed, That various Reports had been raised, in *England*, concerning me; some saying that I had been taken as I was endeavouring to make my Escape in a Disguise; others, That upon notice given that I was concealed at the House of a Country-man, some Persons coming to seize me, and offering Mony to that purpose, the Man of the House refusing the offer, had caused me to be conveyed from thence by a private way. These things being believed by many, served to amuse my Enemies, who suspected me to be still in *England*, and doubting the Fidelity of the Army,
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doubled their Diligence to find me out. But my Friends and Relations being advised of my retirement, were not at all disturbed at their Proceedings.

The Convention before their Adjournment, had referred to the King the things in Dispute between the Episcopal and Presbyterian Parties, who in prosecution of their Desires, required them to consider, how far each Party could condescend for mutual Accommodation. The Presbyterians finding the Tyde to be against them, agreed with the Bishops in many particulars, desiring only to be dispensed with in wearing the Surplice, reading some parts of the Liturgy and using some Ceremonies; on which Conditions they promised to subject themselves to the Bishops, as Superintendents of the Church, if some Ministers might be joyned with them in the Act of Ordination. These Propositions and Condescensions being communicated to the Bishops, and those of the Bishops to the Presbyterians, it was soon perceived, by discerning Men, that these two Competitors for Ecclesiastical Power and Riches, would not be easily brought to agree. However, the King thinking fit to temporise, as long as the Army was on foot, appointed a Conference between the disagreeing Parties, at which he was present in Person; where tho the Bishops appeared as inflexible as before, yet the King, for the Reason abovementioned, thought convenient
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to Publish a Declaration, forbidding the Liturgy, Surplice and some Ceremonies, to be imposed upon those who should be unwilling to use them. Which shew of Moderation took so much with the Presbyterians, who were ready to stretch their Consciences to the utmost, that they presented their humble Thanks to him for this Favour. The like method was observed to lay those asleep who had purchased the Church-lands, and who promised themselves full satisfaction, according to the Message from *Breda*; Commissioners being appointed to that end. But after they had Sate once or twice, and heard bitter Invectives against the late Sales, as Sacrilegious, the Purchasers finding them for the most part to be of the same Opinion, were quite discouraged from any farther prosecution of that Matter.

In the mean time the Business of the Country Gentlemen who were Members of this Convention, was, during their Adjournment, to be assisting in the raising those great Sums of Mony they had laid upon the People; for the Payment of which, the intended disbanding of the Army afforded a most plausible Pretence, that the Laws, as they said, might run in their proper Channel, without impediment or controul: But indeed that the Men in Power might deliver themselves from the fear of those who had reduced the Government within its proper Channel, and that the

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Word of their King, with the assistance of an inconsiderate Party, might pass for a Law without controll.

The first Letters I received from *England*, after my arrival at *Geneva*, informed me that Major General *Harrison*, Mr. *John Carew*, Chief Justice *Coke*, Mr. *Hugh Peters*, Mr. *Thomas Scot*, Mr. *Gregory Clement*, Colonel *Adrian Scroop*, Colonel *John Jones*, Colonel *Francis Hacker* and Colonel *Daniel Axtel* being accused of having contributed in their several Stations, to the Death of the King, had been Condemned and Executed. This important Business had been delayed during the time that Mr. *Love* was to continue Sheriff of *London*, he being no way to be induced, either for Fear or Hopes, to permit Juries to be pack'd, in order to second the Designs of the Court. But after new Sheriffs had been Chosen, more proper to serve the present Occasion, a Commission for hearing and determining this Matter, was directed to Thirty four Persons, of whom Fifteen had actually engaged for the Parliament, against the late King; either as Members of Parliament, Judges or Officers in their Army; most, if not all of them, the Lord Mayor excepted, having been put into Places of Trust and Profit since the late Revolution.

Colonel *George Monk* being Commissionated to be of this number, was not ashamed to sit among them, any more than Mr. *Denzil Hol-*
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lis and the Earl of *Manchester*, who having been two of the six Members designed by the late King for Destruction, before the beginning of the War, and therefore personally concerned in the Quarrel, had contributed the utmost of their endeavours to engage divers of the Gentlemen (upon whom they were now to sit as Judges) on that side, were not contented to abandon them in this change, but assisted in Condemning them to Dye for their Fidelity to that Cause, which themselves had betrayed. Mr. *Arthur Annesley* who had been also a Member of the Parliament, whilst they made War against the King, was also one of this number. *Finch* who had been accused of High Treason twenty Years before, by a full Parliament, and who by flying from their Justice, had saved his Life, was appointed to judge some of those who should have been his Judges; and Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, who upon his submission to *Cromwel* had been permitted to practise the Law in a private manner, and under that colour had served both as Spy and Agent for his Master, was entrusted with the principal management of this tragical Scene; and in his Charge to the Grand Jury, had the Assurance to tell them, *That no Authority, no single Person, or community of Men; not the People Collectively or Representatively, had any coercive Power over the King of England.* For Proof of which Assertion he cited *Spencers Case* in the time of *Edward*

Edward the II. And After-Ages may with as much Reason Cite the Proceedings of this Court for Precedents of the same kind.

All Things being prepared, and the Court assembled at the Session-house in the *Old Bailey*, *Sir Hardress Waller*, Major General *Harrison* and Mr. *Heveningham* were order'd to be set to the Bar, where the Inditement being read, containing many strange Expressions, it was contrived that *Sir Hardress Waller* (who was known to be a Man that would say any thing to save his Life, and was prepared to that purpose) should be first demanded whether he were Guilty or not Guilty. Which being done, he after a little shifting, according to the expectation of the Bench, pleaded Guilty, taking the Blood which had been shed during his Employments in the Army upon his own Head. But when Major General *Harrison* was required to Answer, he not only pleaded *not Guilty*, but justified the Sentence passed upon the King, and the Authority of those who had Commissionated him to act as one of his Judges. He plainly told them, when Witnesses were produced against him, that he came not thither with an intention to deny any thing he had done, but rather to bring it to Light, owning his Name subscribed to the Warrant for Executing the King, to be written by himself; charging divers of those who sat on the Bench, as his Judges, to have been formerly as active for the Cause, in
which

which he had engaged, as himself or any other Person; affirming that he had not acted by any other Motive than the Principles of Conscience and Justice; for proof of which he said it was well known, he had chosen to be separated from his Family, and to suffer a long Imprisonment, rather than to comply with those who had abused the Power they had assumed to the oppression of the People. He insisted that having done nothing, in relation to the Matter in question, otherwise than by the Authority of the Parliament, he was not justly accountable, either to this or any other inferior Court; which being a Point of Law, he desired to have Council assigned upon that Head; but the Court overruled; and by interrupting him frequently, and not permitting him to go on in his defence, they clearly manifested a Resolution of gratifying the Resentments of the Court upon any Terms. So that a hasty Verdict was brought in against him, and the Question being asked, if he had any thing to say, why Judgment should not pass, he only said, That since the Court had refused to hear what was fit for him to Speak in his Defence, he had no more to say; upon which *Bridgman* pronounced the Sentence. And that the Inhumanity of these Men may the better appear, I must not omit, that the Executioner in an ugly Dress, with a Halter in his Hand, was placed near the Major General, and continued
there

there during the whole time of his Tryal; which Action I doubt whether it was ever equall'd by the most barbarous Nations. But having learn'd to contemn such Baseness, after the Sentence had been pronounc'd against him, he said aloud as he was withdrawing from the Court, That he had no Reason to be ashamed of the Cause in which he had been engaged. This Sentence was so barbarously executed, that he was cut down alive, and saw his Bowels thrown into the Fire.

Mr. *John Carew* was a Gentleman of an ancient Family in the County of *Cornwall*, educated in one of the Universities, and at the Inns of Court. He had a plentiful Estate, and being chosen to serve in the Great Parliament, he was elected into the Council of State, and employ'd in many important Affairs; in which he shewed great Ability. He found the same usage from the Court as Major General *Harrison* had done, being frequently interrupted, and Council denied, tho' earnestly desired by him in that Point of Law touching the Authority by which he had acted: When he saw that all he could say was to no purpose, he frankly acknowledged that he sat in the High Court of Justice, and had signed two Warrants, one for summoning the Court in order to the King's Tryal, and another for his Execution. Upon this the Court, who were well acquainted with the

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Disposition of the Jury, permitting him to speak, he said, That in the Year 1640. a Parliament was called according to the Laws and Constitution of this Nation: That some Differences arising between the King and that Parliament, the King withdrew his Person from them; upon which the Lords and Commons declared ——— Here the Court being Conscious that their Cobweb-coverings were not sufficient to keep out the Light of those Truths he was going to produce, contrary to the Liberty they had promised, interrupted him, under colour that what he was about to say, tended not only to justify the Action for which he was accused, but to cast a Ball of Division among those who were present. But Mr. *Carew* going on to say, The Lords and Commons by their Declaration ——— Judge *Foster* interrupted him again, and told him he endeavour'd to revive those Differences which he hoped were laid asleep, and that he did so to blow the Trumpet of Sedition; demanding if he had ever heard, or could produce an Act of Parliament made by the Commons alone. To this he would have answered, but was not permitted to finish what he began to say, or hardly any one thing he endeavour'd to speak in his Defence during the whole Tryal; Mr. *Arthur Annesley* particularly charging him with the Exclusion of the Members in the Year 1648. of which number he had been
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one ; to which he only replied, That it seemed strange to find a Man who sat as a Judge on the Bench to give Evidence as a Witness in the Court. These irregular Proceedings unbecoming a Court of Judicature, obliged Mr. *Carew* to address himself to the Jury, leaving them to judge of the Legality of his Tryal; and appealing to their Consciences, whether he had been permitted to make his Defence. But they who were not to be diverted from the Resolutions they had taken, without any regard to the manner of his Tryal, declared him Guilty as he was accused.

Colonel *Adrian Scroop* was accused for sitting as one of the Judges in the High Court of Justice, when the King was brought to answer as a Prisoner at the Bar, for signing one Warrant for summoning that Court together, and another for the Execution of the King. He denied nothing of this, but pleaded the Authority of the Parliament in his Justification; denying that he had been acted by any Motive of Malice as the Inditement had untruly suggested; and asserting, that in what he had done relating to the King, he had follow'd the Light of his Reason and the Dictates of his Conscience. At this Tryal the principal Witness was that *Brown*, who having been Major General in the Service of the Parliament, and mention'd already in this Work to be of a mercenary Spirit, was now

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brought to betray a private Conversation ; and to depose, that talking one day with Colonel *Adrian Scroop* in the Speaker's Chamber, and telling him that the Condition of the Nation was sad since the Murther of the King, the Colonel had answer'd, That Men had different Opinions touching that Matter ; and being desired by the said *Brown* to explain himself, he told him, he should not make him his Confessor. Tho' this Evidence be in appearance very insignificant ; yet having influenced the House of Commons, as I mention'd before, 'tis not to be admir'd if it took effect with a Jury in an inferiour Court, who taking every thing said against the Person accused for substantial Proof, made no scruple of bringing him in Guilty of Treason.

Mr. *Thomas Scot* was on the same day brought to a Tryal, or rather to receive the Sentence of Condemnation : He was charged with sitting in the High Court of Justice at the King's Tryal, with signing the two Warrants above-mention'd ; and desiring that the following Inscription might be engraved upon his Monument, *Here lies Thomas Scot, who adjudg'd the late King to die.* Divers Witnesses were produced to prove these things ; and among them Mr. *William Lenthall* Speaker to the Parliament, who, tho' when the King enter'd the House of Commons, and had demanded of him the five Members, he knew how to answer, *That he had neither Ears to hear, Eyes to see, or*
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Menth to speak except what the House gave, could now appear as Evidence against Mr. Scot for Words spoken in Parliament, which he was conscious to himself was a high breach of Privilege ; acquainting the Court, that the Person accused, had justified in the House the Proceedings against the King. Mr. Scot said in his Defence, that whatever had been spoken in the House ought not to be given in Evidence against him, not falling under the Cognizance of any Inferior Court, as all Men knew : That for what he had done in relation to the King, he had the Authority of the Parliament for his justification : That the Court had no right to declare whether that Authority were a Parliament or not ; and being demanded to produce one Instance to shew that the House of Commons was ever possess'd of such an Authority, he assured them he could produce many. But having begun with the *Saxon Times*, he was interrupted by the Court, and told that the things of those Ages were obscure. Finding he might not be permitted to proceed in that way, he took the liberty to tell them, That he could not see for what Reason it was not as lawful for that House of Commons in which he had sat as a Member, to make Laws, as for the present Convention which had been called by *the Authority of the Keepers of the Liberties* of England. I had the Authority of Parliament, the Legislative Authority to ju-

stifie me———Here the Court interrupted him; but having no Reasons to give, *Finch* said in a Passion, Sir, if you speak to this purpose again, I profess for my own part I dare not hear any more: 'Tis a Doctrin so Poisonous and Blasphemous, that if you proceed upon this Point, I shall (and I hope my Lords will be of the same Opinion) desire that the Jury may be immediately directed. Mr. *Scot* replied, My Lord, I thought you would rather have been my Council, as I think 'tis the Duty of your Place. But in this matter I am not alone, neither is it my single Opinion: Even the secluded Members owned us to be a Parliament, else why did they, supported by an armed Force, intrude themselves contrary to the Resolutions of the House, in order to procure the Major Vote for our Dissolution? To which Mr. *Annesley* answered, That if the secluded Members had not appeared in Parliament, and by that means put an end to all Pretences, the People had not so soon arrived at their Happiness. These, with many other things of equal force being said by Mr. *Scot* in his Defence, rather to justify himself to his Country, than from any Hopes of Consideration from those with whom he had to do; the Jury as directed, found him Guilty also.

Colonel *John Jones* and Mr. *Gregory Clement* finding all that had been said in Vindication of the things objected against the Gentlemen

tllemen who had been already tried, to prove ineffectual, informed the Court that they could say no more than had been already alledged; and therefore confessed the Fact, upon which they were declared Guilty, as the Persons before mention'd had been.

On the Thirteenth of *November*, 1660. the Sentence which had been pronounced in consequence of the Verdict, was executed upon Major General *Harrison* at the place where *Charing Cross* formerly stood, that the King might have the pleasure of the Spectacle, and inure himself to Blood. On the Fifteenth, Mr. *John Carew* suffer'd there also, even their Enemies confessing that more steddiness of Mind, more contempt of Death, and more Magnanimity could not be expressed. To all who were present with them, either in Prison or at the Place where the Sentence was executed, they owned that having engaged in the Cause of God and their Country, they were not at all ashamed to suffer in the manner their Enemies thought fit, openly avowing the inward Satisfaction of their Minds when they reflected upon the Actions for which they had been condemned, not doubting the revival of the same Cause; and that a time should come when Men would have better Thoughts of their Persons and Proceedings.

Mr. *John Coke*, late Chief Justice of *Ireland*, had in his younger Years seen the best part of *Europe*; and at *Rome* had spoken with such

Liberty and Ability against the Corruptions of that Court and Church, that great Endeavours were used there to bring him into that Interest: But he being resolved not to yield to their Sollicitations, thought it no longer safe to continue among them, and therefore departed to *Geneva* where he resided some Months in the House of Signior *Gio. Diodati*, Minister of the *Italian* Church in that City; after which he returned to *England* and applied himself to the Study of the Laws; and in that Profession became so considerable, that he was appointed by the High Court of Justice to be their Solicitor at the King's Tryal. I have already said, that he was seized and imprisoned by Sir *Charles Coote*, who joining with *Monk* in his Treachery to the Commonwealth, sent him over to *England*, that he might sacrifice him to his new Master, in Satisfaction for the Blood of his Party which he himself had formerly shed. Being brought to his Tryal, he was accused of preferring, in the Name of all the good People of *England*, an Impeachment of High Treason to the High Court of Justice against the late King; That he had signed the said Impeachment with his own Hand; That upon the King's demurrer to the Jurisdiction of the Court, he had pressed that the Charge might be taken for confessed; and therefore had demanded Judgment from the Court against the King: But this Inditement being more particularly

ticularly charged upon him in the three following Articles,

First, That he, with others, had propounded, counselled, contrived, and imagin'd the Death of the late King.

Secondly, That to bring about this Conspiracy, he, with others, had assumed Authority and Power to accuse, kill and murder the King.

Thirdly, That a Person unknown did cut off the King's Head; and that the Prisoner was abetting, aiding, assisting, countenancing and procuring the said Person so to do.

He answer'd, First, That he could not be justly said to have contriv'd or counselled the Death of the King, because the Proclamation for the King's Tryal, even by the Confession of his Accuser, was publish'd on the Ninth of *January*, which was the day before he was appointed Solicitor to the High Court of Justice. In the Second place, tho' the Court should not admit that to be an Act of Parliament, which authorized him to do what he did; yet he assured himself they would allow it to be an Order, which was enough to justify him. Thirdly, That he, who had neither been Accuser, Witness, Jury, Judge, or Executioner, could not be Guilty of Treason in this Case. He urged, that having act-

ed only as Council, he was not answerable for the Justice or Injustice of the Cause he had manag'd ; That being placed in that Station by a publick Command, it could not be said he had acted Maliciously. or with a wicked Intention, as the Inditement mention'd ; That Words spoken do not amount to Treason, much less when set down in writing by the direction of others ; especially since no clear Proof had been produced, that his Name subscribed to the Charge against the King was written by himself. He said, that to pray and demand Justice, 'tho Injustice be done upon it, could not be Treason within the Statute ; that when he demanded Justice, it might be meant of Acquittal as well as of Condemnation ; and that if it should be accounted Treason in a Councillor to plead against the King, it must also be Felony to plead against any Man who may be unjustly condemn'd for Felony ; That the High Court of Justice, tho' now called Tyrannical and Unlawful, was yet a Court, had Officers attending them, and many think had Authority, there being then no other in this Nation than that which gave them their Power ; and if this will not justify a Man for acting within his own Sphere, it will not be lawful for any one to exercise his Profession unless he may be sure of the Legality of the Establishment under which he acts. These and divers other things of no less weight

weight he said in his Defence; but the Cabal thinking themselves concern'd to prevent the like in time to come, and to terrify those who were not only able but willing also to be employ'd in such Service, procured from the Jury a Verdict of Condemnation against him according to their desire.

The Charge against Mr. *Hugh Peters* was, for compassing and imagining the Death of the King, by conspiring with *Oliver Cromwel* at several Times and Places, and procuring the Souldiers to demand Justice; by Preaching divers Sermons to persuade the Souldiery to take off the King, comparing him to *Barabbas*, and applying part of a Psalm where 'tis said, *They shall bind their Kings in Chains*, &c. to the Proceedings against him; assuring them, that if they would look into their Bibles they should find there, *That whoever sheddeth Man's Blood, by Man shall his Blood be shed*; and that neither the King nor any other Person are excepted from this General Rule. He was also accused of saying, That the Levits, Lords and Lawyers must be taken away in order to establish a Common-wealth; That the King was a Tyrant, and that the Office it self was Chargeable, Useless, and Dangerous. These, with other things of like Nature being sworn against him, Mr. *Peters* said in his Defence, That the War began before he came into *England*; That since his Arrival, he had endeavour'd to promote
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found Religion, the Reformation of Learning and the Law, and Employment of the Poor; That for the better effecting these Things he had espoused the Interests of the Parliament, in which he had acted without Malice, Avarice or Ambition; and that whatever Prejudices or Passions might possess the Minds of Men, yet there was a God who knew these things to be true. It was not expected that any thing he could say should save him from the Revenge of the Court, and therefore he was without Hesitation brought in Guilty. This Person had been a Minister in *England* for many Years, 'till he was forc'd to leave his Native Country by the Persecution set on foot in the time of Arch-bishop *Laud* against all those who refused to comply with the Innovations and Superstitions which were then introduced into the Publick Worship. He went first into *Holland*, and from thence to *New England*; where after some stay, being informed that the Parliament had relieved the People in some measure from the Abuses in Church and State, and design'd to perfect that Work, he return'd to *England*; and in all Places, and on all Occasions encouraged the People to appear vigorously for them. Having passed some time in *England*, he was made Chaplain to a Brigade that was sent against the Irish Rebels, and observing the Condition of the plundered Protestants in that Country to deserve Compassion, he went in-

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to *Holland*, and improved the Interest he had there with so good success, that he procured about Thirty Thousand Pounds to be sent from thence into *Ireland* for their Relief. He was a diligent and earnest Solicitor for the distressed Protestants of the Vallies of *Piedmont*, who had been most inhumanly Persecuted and reduced to the utmost Extremities by the Tyranny of the Duke of *Savoy*; and in Gratitude to the *Hollanders* for the Sanctuary he had found among them in the time of his Distress, he was not a little serviceable to them in Composing their Differences with *England* in the time of *Cromwel*.

An Order being made, that the Chief Justice *Coke* and Mr. *Peters* should die on the same day, they were carried on two Sleds to the Place appointed for the Execution of the Sentence that had been pronounced against them, the Head of Major General *Harrison* being placed on that which carried the Chief Justice, with the Face uncovered, and directed towards him; which was so far from producing the designed Effect, that he not only seemed to be animated with Courage from the Reflection he might make upon that Object; but the People every where expressed their Detestation of such Usage. At the Place of Execution, among other things, he declared that he had used the utmost of his Endeavours that the Practice of the Law might be regulated, and that the publick Justice
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might be administred with as much Expedition and as little Expence as possible ; and that he had suffer'd a more than ordinary Persecution from those of his own Profession on that account. He said he understood not the meaning of the Court, when they affirmed, That if the Lords and Commons had brought the King to the Bar, it had been Treason in them ; and as to the part he had in the Action with which he was charged, he was so far from repenting what he had done, that he was most ready to seal it with his Blood : Here the Sheriff rudely interrupting him, he replied, That it had not been the Custom in the most barbarous Nations, much less in *England*, to insult over a dying Man ; adding, that he thought he was the first who had ever suffered Death for demanding Justice.

When this Victim was cut down and brought to be Quartered, one Colonel *Turner* called to the Sheriff's Men to bring Mr. *Peters* to see what was doing ; which being done, the Executioner came to him, and rubbing his bloody Hands together, asked him how he liked that Work ? He told him he was not at all terrified, and that he might do his worst. And when he was upon the Ladder, he said to the Sheriff, Sir, You have butcher'd one of the Servants of God before my Eyes, and have forc'd me to see it in order to terrify and discourage me ; but God
has

has permitted it for my Support and Encouragement.

On the Sixteenth of *October*, *Mr. Thomas Scot* and *Mr. Gregory Clement* were drawn in one Sledd, and *Colonel Adrian Scroop* with *Colonel John Jones* in another, to *Charing Cross*, in order to suffer Death as the rest had done. *Mr. Scot* was a Gentleman who having been educated in the University of *Cambrige*, had lived privately in the Country, till upon a Recruit of Members to serve in the Parliament, he was chosen to be of their Number; and in that Station carried himself with such Constancy and Zeal for the Service of the Common-wealth, that during the Interruption of the Parliament by *Cromwel*, the Country in which he lived, as a Mark of their Esteem, chose him to serve them as often as there was occasion. When the Parliament was a second time interrupted by the Army, he held a constant Correspondence with *Monk* for their Restitution; in which he was very Instrumental, as well by causing the Letters he received from *Monk*, declaring his Resolution to live and die with the Parliament, to be printed and publish'd, as by other Services. He had been several times chosen a Member of the Council of State; and the Parliament being again restored, they appointed him to be Secretary to that Board, and deputed him for one of the two Commissioners they sent to accompany *Monk* in his
march

march to *London*. To this Gentleman *Monk* solemnly swore at *St. Albans*, That he would be faithful to the Parliament ; in confidence of which, when *Mr. Scot* had resumed his Place in the House, he undertook so largely for his Integrity. But when his Treachery was too manifest, he endeavour'd to pass beyond the Seas, and was taken by Pirates ; who having plundered him, set him ashore in *Hampshire* ; yet by the Assistance of his Friends, he procured another Vessel to Land him in *Flanders*, where he was no sooner arrived, but he was seized by an Agent for the King. *Don Alonzo de Cardenas*, then Governour of the Spanish *Netherlands*, who had been Ambassador for the King of *Spain* in *England*, during the Government of the Commonwealth, remembring the particular Obligations he had to *Mr. Scot*, caused him to be set at Liberty. Being freed from these Dangers, and afterwards finding his Name to be inserted among others of the King's Judges who were required to render themselves if they expected any Benefit by the Act of Indemnity ; in confidence at least of saving his Life, he surrendred himself to the English Agent within the time limited by the Proclamation. And tho' he was thus ensnared, yet he was not unwilling to confirm what he had done, with the Testimony of his Blood, which he did with the greatest Demonstrations of Cheerfulness and Satisfaction of Mind.

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He attempted several times to speak to the People at the place of Execution, in justification of that Cause for which he was to Dye ; but those who feared nothing so much as Truth, interrupted him so often, that he found himself obliged to say, *That surely it must be a very bad Cause which cannot suffer the Words of a dying Man.*

Mr. Gregory Clement being the next that Suffer'd, was a Citizen and Merchant of London, who by trading to Spain, had raised a very considerable Estate. He was chosen a Member of the Parliament about the Year, 1646. and discharged that Trust with great Diligence, always joyning with those who were most affectionate to the Common-wealth, tho he never was possess'd of any place of Profit under them. Being appointed one of the Commissioners for the Trial of the King, he durst not refuse his assistance in that Service. He had no good Elocution, but his Apprehension and Judgment were not to be despised. He declared before his Death, that nothing troubled him so much, as his pleading Guilty at the time of his Trial, to satisfy the importunity of his Relations, by which, he said he had rendered himself unworthy to Dye in so glorious a Cause.

Colonel Adrian Scroop was descended of an antient Family, and possessed of a considerable Estate. His Port and Meen was noble, and the endowments of his Mind every way answerable

swerable. He appeared early in the Army of the Parliament, being present and engaged at the Battle of *Edge-hill*, in the Head of a Troop of Horse, which he had raised. He was first advanced to the degree of a Major, and soon after appointed to be Colonel of a Regiment of Horse. He had been, for several Years, Governour of the Castle of *Bristol*, and when the Parliament thought fit to slight that Garrison, they made him one of their Commissioners for the Civil Government of *Scotland*, in conjunction with the Lord *Broghil*, *Monk* and others. In all these Employments he manifested such Abilities and Fidelity, that the Parliament appointed him to be one of the Commissioners for the Trial of the late King; in which Place he acted with all the impartiality that becomes a Judge in whom so great a Trust is reposed, and who ought to be no respecter of Persons. The hard measure he received from the Convention at *Westminster*, I have already mentioned; it remains only to give some Account of what he said at the Place where he suffered Death, which was to this purpose, That tho he had been accustomed to be seen in better Places, and other kind of Circumstances, yet it being the Will of God he should be brought into this Condition, he submitted cheerfully; that he never had entertained Malice against any Man, and that he now wished no ill either to the Jury who found him Guilty, or to the Judges who
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pronounced Sentence ; or even to the Person by whose means he was brought to that Place, who, he presumed, was so well known, that it was not necessary to name him. He said he should not boast of his Birth, or Education, or the private Conduct of his Life, because he was going to appear before a Tribunal where all Men must come ; and where the justice or injustice of every Action would be manifest, desiring the People in the mean time not to think uncharitably of him ; for he was firmly perswaded he suffered for the Cause of God and his Country.

Colonel *John Jones* who next appeared on this Bloody Theater, was a Gentleman of a competent Estate in *North-Wales*, and so well beloved in his Country that he did considerable Service to the publick Cause by his Interest in those parts. He reduced the Isle of *Anglesey* to the Obedience of the Commonwealth, and was soon after chosen to serve in Parliament for that Place. He had been one of the Council of State, and in the Year, 1650. was constituted one of the Commissioners of Parliament for managing the Civil Affairs of *Ireland*. This Trust he discharged during the course of divers Years, with great Diligence, Ability and Integrity, in providing for the happiness of that Country, and bringing to Justice those who had been concerned in the Murders of the English Protestants. When the Great Parliament was restored to the exercise

ercise of their Authority, after the long interruption, they chose him to be one of those eight Persons, to whom they committed the care of the publick Safety, till they could establish a Council of State. Of this also he was chosen a Member, and soon after sent by the Parliament to his former Trust in *Ireland*, where he continued till the late Change. Being drawn to *Charing Cross* on the same Sledd with *Colonel Scroop*, the Gravity and graceful Meen of these aged Gentlemen, accompanied with visible marks of Fortitude and internal Satisfaction, surpris'd the Spectators with Admiration and Compassion.

Colonel Daniel Axtel was next brought to Trial. The chief Heads of the Inditement against him were, That he commanded the Guards both at the Trial and Execution of the King; that he ordered the Souldiers, in a tumultuous manner, to demand Justice and afterwards Execution; that he threatned to shoot a Lady, who from a Gallery that was near the Court where the King was Tried, had contradicted the President when he was Speaking concerning the Charge; that he sent for and encouraged the Executioner, and that he had upbraided with Cowardice one of the Persons, to whom the Warrant for seeing Execution done upon the King was directed, for refusing to Sign it. And these, with some other Things of less weight, were called Compassing and Imagining the Death of the King.

Colonel

Colonel *Hercules Huncks*, who was one of the Three to whom the said Warrant had been directed; one of the forty Halberdiers attending the High Court of Justice, and one who had opposed with more than ordinary vehemence all those who were for the King, was the principal Witness against him. Colonel *Axtel* having first acknowledg'd his Ignorance in matters of Law, and therefore desiring that no undue advantages might be taken against him on that account, proceeded to speak to this Effect; That the War was made by the joynt Authority of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, who claimed a Right of employing the military Force of the Nation for the publick Safety, as appears by divers Acts and Declarations published by their Order. This Authority raised an Army, made the Earl of *Essex* General, then the Earl of *Manchester* of the Forces of the Eastern Association, and after that created and authorised Sir *Thomas Fairfax* to be General of all their Forces. Under this Authority, said he, I acted, which I conceive to be Legal, because this Parliament was not only called by the King's Writ, and chosen by the People, but also because a Bill had passed, that they should not be Dissolved otherwise than by their own Consent. Having this unquestionable Authority for my Justification, I presume my Case comes not within the reach of the Statute 25th *Edward III.* which could

by no means intend such a Power as was not only owned and obeyed at Home, but acknowledged by Princes and States Abroad, to be the chief Authority of the Nation, by sending Agents and Ambassadors to them. The Judges, who ought to be the Eye and Guide of the People acted under them, divers of them publickly declaring that it was Lawful and Justifiable to obey the Parliament. But if their Acts may not be accounted such, tho' they carried that Title, and were obeyed by the Judges, Ministers, Officers of State and the whole Nation; yet surely they cannot be denied to be Orders of Parliament; which would be sufficient to justify any Man who acted by them. This Parliament so Constituted, so Acknowledged and so Obeyed, having made choice of a Person to be General of their Forces, I was by that General, in vertue of the Authority he had received from them, constituted an Officer under him: And therefore whatever I have done was as a Soldier and according to the Duty of my Office, for if I was in *Westminster-Hall* at the time of the King's Trial, I was there by a Command of the General: And if it be so great a Crime to have been an Officer in that Army which was raised by the Parliament, the Earls of *Effex* and *Manchester*, the Lord General *Fairfax*, *Monk* and others who have acted by the same Authority, were no less Criminal than my self. He cited the Declarations of
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the Lords and Commons, published when they engaged the People to take Arms, in which they asserted, That it was repugnant to Reason that the Judgment and Actions of the Parliament might not be a Rule and Guide to the Nation in their Duty; and declared that the Persons who should act under their Authority ought not to be questioned for so doing: He therefore presumed that an inferior Court would not expound the Law contrary to the Judgment of the High Court of Parliament; adding, That if the House of Commons who are the Representatives of the whole Nation, may be Guilty of Treason, it will follow that all the People of *England*, who chose them, are guilty also, and then where will a Jury be found to try this Cause? My Commission is dated the 27th of *March*, 1648. ten Months before the King's Death. The Commission by which General *Fairfax* was authorised to give mine to me, he received from the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament. I did nothing but my Duty in going to my Regiment: For if the General says, go to such a Place and stay there, if I refuse, by the Law of Arms I am to Dye. But if I obey, it seems I am in danger also. The Question therefore in Law, I humbly conceive, will be this, and I desire it may be truly and fairly stated, *Whether a Man who is guided by the Judgment of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, acting*

only according to that Judgment of Parliament, and under their Authority can be questioned for Treason? To this the Council answering, That he was not accused of levying War, but of assisting at the Tryal and Execution of the King, and encouraging the Souldiers to clamour for Justice and Execution; the Colonel replied, That he was no more Guilty than the General, that his Presence in *Westminster - Hall* was not Voluntary, and that he was there by Command. This he pressed so home upon the Court, appealing to themselves for their Judgment in the Case, that they were necessitated to fly to their old Refuge of questioning the Authority by which he had acted. To the rest of the Evidence he said, That if any Lady had talked aloud during the time of the the King's Tryal, to the Interruption and Disturbance of the Court, he supposed it was no Treason to bid her hold her Tongue; That if he smiled, as Colonel *Temple* depos'd, it could not amount to so great a Crime; That if some Souldiers did cry out Justice, it was not by his Instigation; yet he hoped that to desire Justice, which is one of the principal Attributes of God, is no Treason. Having said these with many other things in his Defence, he address'd himself to the Jury, and acquainted them that he left his Case and his Life in their Hands.

In answer to these Arguments, *Bridgman*, who was President of this Assembly, contented himself with repeating that strange and unheard of Doctrin, *That no Person whatsoever, nor Community, not the People either collectively or representatively, have any coercive Power over the King.* For this he quoted some Precedents as little to the purpose as the Assertion it self, and then concluded the Case to be so clear, that the Jury needed not to stir from the Bar. It soon appear'd that he knew the Men, for they fully answered his Expectations; and as they were directed, without any difficulty, declared Colonel *Axtel* to be Guilty of the Treason with which he had been charged.

Colonel *Francis Hacker* being appointed to appear also in this Tragical Scene, he was brought to the Bar; where an Inditement for compassing and imagining the Death of the King was read against him, and to prove the Accusation Witnesses were produced, who depos'd, that he was one of the Persons that were upon the Guard and kept the King Prisoner; That the Warrant for seeing the Sentence that had been pronounced by the High Court of Justice against the King put in Execution, was directed to him with others; That in Prosecution of that Commission, he had sign'd a Warrant for Executing the King; And that he took the King, by vertue of the Warrant he had received, out of the Custody of

Colonel *Thomlinson*, and conducted him to the Scaffold on which he had been put to Death. Colonel *Hacker* excepted not against any of the Jury, finding all of them to be of the same Stamp; and said little more in his Defence than that he had acted by the command of his Superiours, and that he had always endeavoured to serve his Country in all his publick Actions; so that his Tryal was quickly dispatch'd, and he declared Guilty of High Treason. He was a Gentleman of a considerable Estate, derived to him from his Ancestors, who lived in the County of *Leicester*: He had passed through several Degrees of Command in the Service of the Parliament, and particularly distinguish'd himself at the Battle of *Worcester*, in the Head of a Regiment of Horse which he had raised on that occasion for the Defence of his Country: He refused his Assistance to support the Usurpation of Mr. *Richard Cromwell*, tho' he had forced a Knight-hood, as 'tis call'd, upon him, and presented him with two Swords, refusing to obey his Orders, and joining with the Common-wealth Party in his Deposition: He had continued in the Command of his Regiment till he was taken in Custody, having had Assurances from *Monk*, that he should be fully indemnified. So that when he came to *London*, he made a Visit to *Monk*, and was received with all the Appearances of Friendship and Affection. But the next day after
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he had been thus caressed, he was seized, examined and sent to the *Tower*.

Colonel *Daniel Axtel* had been Captain, Major and Lieutenant Colonel in a Regiment of Foot ; in the last of which Employments he had assisted at the Tryal and Execution of the late King. When Lieutenant General *Cromwell* was sent by the Parliament into *Ireland* with an Army against the Rebels, and the Regiment in which Colonel *Axtel* served was drawn out by Lot for that Expedition, he cheerfully undertook the Employment ; and for his Fidelity, Courage and Conduct, was soon preferred to the Head of a Regiment ; and not long after was made Governour of *Kilkenny* and the adjacent Precinct, which important Trust he discharged with Diligence and Success. In this Station he shewed a more than ordinary Zeal in punishing those Irish who had been guilty of murdering the Protestants ; and on this account, as well as for what he had done in relation to the late King, the Court had procured him to be excepted out of the Act of Indemnity.

Captain *William Hewlet* was also accused and tried for cutting off the King's Head, or at least for being one of the Persons that stood Mask'd upon the Scaffold during his Execution ; and tho' divers creditable Witnesses depos'd, that *Gregory Bandon*, who was common Hangman, had confessed and owned to have

executed the King ; yet the Jury found him Guilty of the Indictment. But the Court being sensible of the injury done to him, procured his Reprieve.

Those whom I mention'd before to have been excepted both for Life and Estate, with a reserve, that if upon Tryal they should be found Guilty, Sentence of Death should not be executed against any of them except by Act of Parliament, were brought to be tried before this Court ; where some of them pleaded Guilty simply ; but others, tho' they acknowledged the Guilt, denied the Malice ; and some confessing the Fact, denied the Guilt. Of this last Number was Colonel *Henry Martin*, of whose Tryal I shall only mention some few of the most remarkable Passages, and so leave this melancholy Subject: For if I should give an account, tho' with all possible brevity, of what passed in the Court during their Session, together with what might be necessary to say concerning the Persons accused, I should be carried too far from my Purpose. Colonel *Henry Martin* was charged with Signing and Sealing the Precept for summoning the High Court of Justice ; with Signing the Warrant for Executing the King ; with sitting in Court almost every day of his Tryal, and particularly that on which he received the Sentence of Death. To these things he answered, That he declined not to acknowledge the Matter of Fact that
was

was alledged against him, the Malice imputed to him by the Indictment set aside. Upon which, being told by one of the Council, That he seem'd to be of Opinion, that a Man might sit and adjudge a King to Death, and sign a Warrant for his Execution, meekly, innocently, charitably and honestly. He answer'd, that tho' he should not compare his Knowledge in the Law with that of such a learned Gentleman; yet according to that little Understanding he had been capable of acquiring, he presumed, *That no Fact could be named, which in it self is a Crime, but only as it is circumstantiated*; and to make good that Assertion, gave several Instances. But the Council to prove that he had acted Maliciously, produced a Person who depos'd, that he signed the Warrant merrily and in a jesting way, as he was rallying with Lieutenant General *Cromwell*. To which he replied, That such a way of doing a thing does by no means imply Malice. The Council finding their Insinuations and Aggravations of the Charge against him so easily blown away by these and other Answers, made up with Passion what they wanted in the weight of Reason; the Solicitor General exclaiming, *That all good People abhorr'd the Action*; and that *he was sorry to see so little Repentance*. To this the Colonel only said, He hoped that what was urged by the Council, would not make that Impression upon the Court and Jury as seem'd

seem'd to be design'd; and that if it were possible for that Blood to be in the Veins again, and every drop of that which was shed in the late Wars, he could wish it with all his Heart: But he presumed it might be lawful to say in his own Defence, That what he did, he thought at that time he might do. There was, said he, a House of Commons as I understood it to be, tho' perhaps Your Lordships think them not to have been a House of Commons: However, they were then the supreme Authority in *England*, and acknowledged and reputed so to be both at Home and Abroad; I suppose he who gives Obedience to the Authority *de facto* in being, sufficiently shews himself to be of a peaceable Temper, and far from a Traytor: There was a Statute made in the time of *Henry* the VII. to indemnify all those who should take Arms for a King *de facto*, tho' he were not so *de jure*. And if a supreme Officer *de facto* can justify a War, I presume the supreme Authority in *England*, tho' *de facto* only, may justify a Court of Judicature. If it should be said, That the Authority by which we acted was only one Estate of three, and but part of that; I answer, It was all that was then Existing. And I have heard Lawyers say, That if there be Commons appurtenant to a Tenement, and that the Tenement be all burnt down except one small Stick, the Commons still belong to that small Piece as much

much as when the Tenement was all standing. I shall also humbly offer it to Consideration, whether the late King for some time before his Trial, could truly and properly be called a King, who was not in the Execution of his Office, but made a Prisoner, and no way concern'd in the Administration of Publick Affairs. But notwithstanding these and divers other things which he said in his Defence with as much Presence of Mind as Solidity of Argument, he was brought in Guilty of the Treason for which he had been accused ; in pursuance of which Verdict, the Sentence of Condemnation was passed against him, the Convention making no Provision for securing the Lives either of him or the rest of the Gentlemen that had been decoy'd into a Surrender of their Persons, tho' they had implicitly promised them Favour.

The Army that had so long stood in the way of the Court, was now wholly disbanded, except only *Monk's* Regiment of Foot ; and that was balanced by a Regiment of Horse raised under colour of being a Guard to the King. This, together with the Payment of their Arrears, and a Liberty of trading in Corporations was the Reward they received for their Services, notwithstanding all the fair Promises both of *Monk* and the King. And thus these Men who had accumulated Treachery upon Treachery, were dismiss'd with Infamy ; for the very acknowledgment that was made by the King, That
they

they had been the chief Instruments of his Return, reproach'd them with Infidelity to the Parliament, and their own desires to be absolved from the Guilt of their former Actions, was a Confession that they had been Rebels to the King. However, the Dissipation of these Men was not caused by the King's Aversion to a standing Army; for the whole Course of his Life demonstrates the contrary; but being persuaded that they who had already made so many Changes in *England*, were able to bring about another, and to turn him out again with as little Consideration as they had brought him in, he thought it most safe and necessary to free himself at once from such dangerous Companions.

This Work being accomplish'd, the Court began to take off the Mask: For tho' the King had publish'd a Declaration for Accommodation in Matters of Publick Worship and Ceremonies, and tho' the Episcopal Party in the Convention had patiently permitted a Committee to be appointed to consider of that Matter; yet being delivered from the terror of the Army, they opposed the Report of the Committee with such violence, that it was not thought fit to press it any more: By which means all the hopes of the Presbyterians vanished, and this Mountain brought forth a Mouse. The natural Tendency of these things was so visible, that Mr. *Pryn*, who had manifested a more than ordinary Zeal for disbanding

banding the Army, finding his Expectations defeated, and the Presbyterian Party so miserably deluded, after he had made Report of the number of Regiments that had been disbanded, desired the House, that they would be mindful not to do those things that might bring them together again. Upon which the adverse Party fell upon him with that fury, that if the House had not risen immediately in great disorder, he had been obliged to explain himself at the Bar.

But for all this, the Convention, tho' called in the Name of the Keepers of the Liberties of *England*, as if they had designed to put the People beyond the Hopes of any Remedy, made a Present to the King of the Customs and Excise during his Life, besides other great Sums charged upon the Nation to supply his present Occasions: And tho' before the Passing of the Bill of Indemnity they had seemed sensible, that they were in honour concern'd to make Provision for the Security of the Lives of those, who having sate as Judges of the late King, had rendred themselves into their Hands upon the Proclamation which had been publish'd by their Advice; yet they not only abandon'd those poor deluded Gentlemen who lay under the Sentence of Condemnation, and waited for the Favour they had implicitly promised; but also passed a Bill of Attainder against those of the King's Judges and other Persons, who having been excepted out of
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the Act, had escaped their Hands, adding to other unusual Clauses, *That all Trusts for their Use should be forfeited.* But the Duke of York, upon whom these confiscated Estates were bestowed, must be supplied by any means.

Henrietta Maria of France, Widow to the late King *Charles*, who had been a principal Instrument to advise and encourage him in his illegal Actions, passed over into *England* about this time ; and being arrived at *London*, the House of Commons, in which were many Persons, who had been Members of that Parliament which had threatned to accuse her of High Treason, not only congratulated her Return, but presented her Daughter that had accompanied her in her Journey, with the Sum of Ten Thousand Pounds. But notwithstanding all the flattering Subserviency they could shew, and all that they could do to procure themselves to be thought fit for the Service of the Court ; yet being not thoroughly principled to do the Work of the Church, they were acquainted that they should be dissolved on the 24th of *December* next ensuing ; against which time it was desired, that all Bills under Consideration might be made ready. And least the People should, upon the Dissolution of this Assembly, form a Body of Men, and assert their Liberties, it was pretended that a Great Plot to seize the King and the *Tower*, to kill the Queen with all those that should be found of the French Nation, and

and to restore the Parliament, was carrying on throughout *England*. Under this colour Major General *Overton*, Colonel *Desborough*, Colonel *Salmon*, Lieutenant Colonel *Farley*, Major *Whitby*, and divers other Persons were seized in *Lonaon*; and Colonel *Duckenfield*, Major *Anthony Morgan*, and several others were imprisoned in the Country.

During the Noise of this Conspiracy, the Queen accompanied by Her Daughter and *Fermyn* return'd to *France*, which induced many to believe that she was terrified by the Designs against her Person. But she, who knew the Plot to be no more than a Fiction, had other real Grounds for her departure. For having endeavoured to persuade her Son to remove the Chancellor *Hyde* from his Councils, and finding she effected nothing by her continual Sollicitations, she soon grew weary of *England*; where, tho' by the Importunity of the King, she had at last admitted the new Dutcheß of *York* to come into her Presence; yet by applying her Self to other Company, not desiring her to sit, and taking the first opportunity to withdraw from the Room, she abundantly shew'd that she thought her not worthy to be treated as a Daughter. These were the principal, if not the only Reasons that moved the Queen to quit the Court of her Son, and to retire into her own Country, tho' to give a better colour to her departure,

and to conceal these Domestick Divisions, they made use of the Pretences before mentioned.

On the Day of the Dissolution of the Convention, Sir *Harbottle Grimeston* who was their Speaker, made a Speech to the King filled with the greatest Flattery : In answer to which, the Chancellor was no way sparing of Complements, applauding the Wisdom of the House in the King's Restitution, and their diligent Endeavours to give his Majesty Satisfaction, by settling Things in such a manner as might prevent new Disturbances and Troubles. Yet he could not forbear to reflect upon them for not infesting the King with the Militia, (which he said had been the great Bone of Contention during the late War) nor declaring any thing concerning that Matter, but leaving it uncertain as they found it, and consequently a Foundation of new Differences. To prevent which, and to secure the Peace of the Nation, he acquainted them that the King would be constrained to establish it for the present as formerly his Predecessors had done. And to convince them of the Necessity of this arbitrary Proceeding, he took occasion to put them in mind of the late Plot (an admirable State-Engine fitted for all Times) telling them, That tho' the Persons engaged in this Conspiracy were only the Lees of the People, yet small Beginnings ought not to be neglected,

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especially considering that all Things in this Design had been brought to a Head ; that I had been nominated to command two thousand five hundred Men in *London*, who were ready to seize the *Tower* ; that the like number was enlisted under my Command in the Western Parts of *England* ; and that another Person , whom he named not, had as many in the North ready to prosecute the same Design. To give the best colour they could to these Falshoods, all Places where it could be suspected I might lie concealed , were diligently searched ; my Wife was several times plundered of her wearing Clothes ; the Lodgings of Colonel *Kempson* my Brother-in-Law were ransack'd, and many of his Goods taken away ; all my Writings, which I had recommended to the Care of a Friend, were betray'd by a Servant in hopes of Reward, and seized ; and one who had waited on me in my Chamber was imprisoned in the Gate-house, where he lay Ten Weeks, because he could not discover where I was.

Colonel *John Barkstead* and Colonel *Okey*, with Colonel *Walton* and Colonel *Dixwel*, who had been Commissioners in the High Court of Justice at the Trial of the late King, having made their Escape from *England* into *Germany*, were received into Protection at *Hanaw*, and made Burgesses of the Town. Of these Colonel *Barkstead* and Colonel *Okey* took a journey to *Holland*, to meet some Re-

lations who were contented to banish themselves with them, and to conduct them to the Place which they had chosen for their Residence. But one Mr. *George Downing*, who was Agent for the King in *Holland*, and had formerly been a Preacher and Chaplin to Colonel *Okey's* Regiment, having received Information that such Persons were in that Country, obtained an Order from the States General for their Seizure; by virtue of which they were taken, together with Mr. *Miles Corbet*, one of the King's Judges also, sent into *England* in a Ship of War, and committed Prisoners to the *Tower*. Two Things seemed especially remarkable in this Action, the Treachery of *Downing*, after he had given assurance to a Person sent to him by Colonel *Okey* to that end, that he had no Orders to look after him; but chiefly the barbarous part acted by the States in this Conjunction, who, tho' they had themselves shaken off the Yoak of Tyranny, and to that time had made it a Fundamental Maxim to receive and protect all those who should come among them; yet contrary to the Principles of their Government, and the Interest of their Commonwealth, to say nothing of the Laws of God, Nature and Nations, without any previous Engagement to the Court of *England*, contributed as much as in them lay to the Destruction of these Gentlemen. But a Treaty was to be made with *England*, and their Trade se-

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cured at any rate, tho' the Foundations should be laid in Blood.

Mr. *Miles Corbet* was a Gentleman of an ancient Family in the County of *Norfolk*. He had applied himself with Diligence to the Study of the Laws of *England* in the Society of *Lincolns-Inn*, and for the space of Thirty seven Years had been chosen to serve his Country in the several Parliaments that were called. Being appointed one of the High Court of Justice for the Trial of the late King, he appeared not among the Judges by reason of some Scruples he had entertained, till the Day that Sentence was pronounced. But upon more mature Deliberation finding them to be of no weight, he durst no longer absent himself, coming early on that Day into the Court, that he might give a publick Testimony of his Satisfaction and Concurrence with their Proceedings. He was afterwards by the Parliament made one of their Commissioners for the Civil Government of *Ireland*, in which Employment he manifested such Integrity, that tho' he was continued for many Years in that Station, yet he impaired his own Estate for the Publick Service, whilst he was the greatest Husband of the Treasure of the Commonwealth. The day before his death he assured his Friends, That he was so thoroughly convinced of the Justice and Necessity of that Action for which he was to die, that if the Things had been yet intire, and to do, he

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could not refuse to act as he had done, without affronting his Reason, and opposing himself to the Dictates of his Conscience ; adding, that the Immoralities, Lewdness and Corruptions of all sorts, which had been introduced and encouraged since the late Revolution, were no inconsiderable Justification of those Proceedings.

Colonel *John Barkstead* was a Citizen and Goldsmith of *London*, who being sensible of the Invasions that had been made upon the Liberties of the Nation, took Arms among the first for their Defence, in the Quality of Captain to a Foot Company in the Regiment of Colonel *Venn* : He had not been long in this Employment, before his Merit advanced him to the degree of a Major, in which Station he was made Governor of *Redding* : And afterwards being preferr'd to the Command of a Regiment, he was constituted by the Parliament in consideration of his Services, Lieutenant of the *Tower of London*. When he was brought to confirm with the Testimony of his Blood that Cause for which he had fought, he performed that part with Chearfulness and Courage, no way derogating from the Character of a Soldier and a true Englishman.

Colonel — *Okey* was also a Citizen of *London*, and one of those who appeared early in the Service of the Parliament. He had been first a Captain of Foot, then a Captain
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of Horse, and afterwards Major in the Regiment of Sir *Arthur Haslerig*. In the Year 1645. at the time when the Army was new modell'd, he was made Colonel of a Regiment of Dragoons, which was afterwards converted into a Regiment of Horse. In these Employments he distinguished himself by his Courage, Conduct and Fidelity; and during the Usurpation of *Oliver Cromwel* was dismiss'd from his Command in the Army, on account of his Affection to the Commonwealth. He was chosen by the County of *Bedford* to represent and serve them in the Convention that was called by *Richard*; and after the Restitution of the Great Parliament, they restored him to his Command in the Army. Being ready to suffer for that Cause which he had strenuously defended, he said in the presence of many Witnesses, That if he had as many Lives as he had Hairs on his Head, he would willingly hazard them all on the same Account. The Sentence against these three Gentlemen having been executed on the 19th of *April* 1662. the King bestowed the Body of Colonel *Okey* upon his Wife to dispose as she thought fit; upon which she ordered him to be interr'd at *Stepney* where his first Wife lay in a Vault that he had purchased for himself and Family. But the Report of this Funeral being spread among the People, several Thousands of them assembled themselves in and about *Newgate* Market where

the Body lay, resolving to attend it to the Grave. And tho' they behaved themselves with Decency and Modesty, yet the King upon notice of this appearance, was so alarm'd, that he revoked his Grant to the Colonel's Wife, dispatch'd Orders to the Sheriff to disperse the Company, and commanded the Body to be interred in the *Tower*.

The Report of the Inhumanity of the States towards our Friends being brought to *Geneva*, we began to doubt whether that little Commonwealth, who were under great Apprehensions of the King of *France*, might not, if our Enemies could engage him to press them, follow the Example of the *Dutch*, and deliver us up also. We resolved therefore either to procure forthwith an assurance of Safety for our Persons, or to make the best Provision we could for our Selves in some other Place. To this end we employ'd Mr. *Perrot* our Landlord to discourse with Monsieur *Voisin* the principal Syndic, and to desire him to inform us what Usage we might expect, in case we should be demanded of that State. The Syndic upon this Application promised to serve us to the utmost of his Power, assuring us that if any Letters should come to his Hands concerning us, he would not only give us timely Notice, but if such a thing should fall out in the Night, he would cause the Water-Gate, of which he always kept the Key, to be opened for our Escape; and if we
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should be obliged to depart by Day , we should have a free Passage through any of the City-Gates that we should chuse : To all which he added this farther Promise, That when his Brother Syndic Monsieur *Dupain* should return from *Bern* where he then was, they would consult together how to make our Residence more safe to us either by a publick Act or otherwise , as should be found most convenient. With these Assurances I was fully satisfied, being as I thought as much as could be expected. But Mr. *Lisle* and Mr. *Cawley* who were likewise in the same Place, made many Objections against our stay , and pressed Mr. *Perrot* upon the return of Mr. *Dupain*, to put him upon conferring with Monsieur *Voisin* touching our Affair. Mr. *Perrot* upon this went to the Nephew of the said Monsieur *Dupain* , who was Procurator-General of *Geneva*, and by him was advised that we should address our selves in a publick manner to the Council for their Protection. This way I opposed as a thing not fit for us to ask or the City to grant , least they should be brought into Difficulties, and perhaps Danger upon our account. But Mr. *Perrot* affirming, that the Procurator was of Opinion, That it was both easy and fit to be done, and that his Brother who was a leading Man in the Council was of the same Judgment, I thought they were best acquainted with their own Affairs, and therefore resolved to let them proceed as they

they pleased. Having made their Attempt, they found the Success I expected. For the Business being brought before the Council, Monsieur *Let* one of the Syndics, from whom the first Syndic had endeavoured to conceal his Correspondence with us, expecting the Payment of a great Debt due to him from the King of *England*, or possibly inclining in his Affections to that Interest, not only obstructed the Address, but charged those who had promoted it with a design of surprising the Council. However the Council was so favourable, that tho' they thought not convenient to grant the Request, yet being unwilling to deny us their Protection, they put off the farther Consideration of that Affair to another Day, some of their Members in Friendship to us advising privately that it should be withdrawn, which was done accordingly. In the mean time that we might not be wanting to our selves in this Conjunction, we made Application to the Lords of the Swiss Canton of *Bern* for their Protection, in which we were most friendly assisted by Monsieur *Bailival* Lieutenant-Governor of *Lausanna*, who had been lately put into that Place upon the death of one *Godward*, the only Friend to Monarchy and Enemy to our Cause that lived in that Town.

Mr. *Lisle* and Mr. *Cawley* meeting with this disappointment at *Geneva* resolved to remove, and to that end hired a Boat to carry them
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to *Laufanna*. I accompanied them to the Water-side, and whilst I was taking leave, a Letter was brought to me from the Person we had employ'd to their Excellencies of *Bern* ; in which I was assured, They had readily condescended to our Desires. This was an Encouragement to me to continue some time longer at *Geneva*, not doubting their Protection when they should find us to be favoured and countenanced by their best Friends and Allies. Therefore a day or two after the departure of my two Friends, I went to the principal Syndic, and having excused them as well as I could for leaving the Town without waiting on him, I acquainted him that the Application to the Council was made without my Advice, and that I was before, as well as now, fully satisfied with the verbal Engagement he had given for our Security ; which I had no sooner said, when he, not without Discomposure, and as I conjectured, Fear, made answer, That he could no longer think himself obliged by his Promises, having gone so far, in expectation that what had passed between us should be kept secret ; whereas now he thought the King of *England* might have notice of it. Upon this Retraction, thinking it too hazardous to remain any longer at *Geneva*, I departed the next Day, accompanied by a particular Friend, for *Laufanna*, where we found Mr. *Lisle* and Mr. *Cawley*, who had received the Act of Protection from the Lords of *Bern* granted

granted under our own proper Names, which I mention for their Honour, who shewed their Courage and Generosity in owning us and our Cause, when we had been abandoned by those, whose true Interest was the same with our own.

In the Month of *July* 1662. I received Letters from *England* with an Account of the Trial, Sentence and Death of Sir *Henry Vane*; of which I shall only say, That he behaved himself on all those Occasions in such a manner that he left it doubtful, whether his Eloquence, soundness of Judgment, and presence of Mind, his Gravity and Magnanimity, his constant adherence to the Cause of his Country, and Heroick Carriage during the time of his Confinement and at the hour of Death; or the Malice of his Enemies and their frivolous Suggestions at his Trial, the breach of the Publick Faith in the Usage he found, the Incivility of the Bench, and the savage Rudeness of the Sheriff, who commanded the Trumpets several times to sound that he might not be heard by the People, were more remarkable.

The following Account of this (and another Transaction which I care not to insist upon) being sent to me at *Geneva*, I may not omit to insert in this place, because it seems to give the true Reasons of the Court of *England* for hurrying Sir *Henry Vane* out of the World.

“ On *Friday* last being the Sixteenth of this
 “ Instant *June* 1662. Sir *Henry Vane* pleaded
 “ for his Life, and Major General *Lambert*
 “ for his; or rather, the first pleaded for the
 “ Life and Liberties of his Country, and the
 “ other for his own. The Issue in all appear-
 “ ance will be, that Sir *Henry* will be put to
 “ death and *Lambert* pardoned, tho’ both are
 “ under Sentence of Condemnation. The
 “ reason of this distinction is no other, than
 “ the manner of their Defence, the one al-
 “ ledging the Authority of the Great Parlia-
 “ ment for his Justification, and that he was
 “ indemnified by the Act of Amnesty; the
 “ other meanly extenuating and excusing what
 “ he did against Sir *George Boothe* and *Monk*
 “ (which was the principal part of the Accu-
 “ sation against him) by pleading Ignorance
 “ of their Intentions, neither of them having
 “ declared that they designed to restore the
 “ King, and *Monk* to the contrary having
 “ openly declared for the Restitution of the
 “ Parliament. Sir *Henry Vane* was long in his
 “ Defence, but not tedious: He much per-
 “ plexed both Court and Council, and has
 “ acquired eternal Reputation by nobly plead-
 “ ing for the dying Liberties of his Country;
 “ it being clear that all the Party which seem-
 “ ed to be indemnified by the Act of Amnesty,
 “ shall be punished in his Person; and that for
 “ this Cause only, That in his pleading he
 “ undertook by the Authority of the said
 “ Par-

“ Parliament to justify what he had done,
 “ maintaining, That the House of Commons
 “ representing the whole Body of the People,
 “ in case of difference between the Authority
 “ Royal and Politick, possesses a just Power
 “ to defend the Rights of the People, and to
 “ authorize the People of *England*, and every
 “ one of them, to defend them.

Sir *Henry Vane* was a Gentleman of an ancient Family in the County of *Durham*, eldest Son to Sir *Henry Vane*, who had been Secretary of State and Comptroller of the Household to the late King. Being scandalized with the Innovations brought into the Publick Worship, he went to *New England*, and remained there for the space of five or six years; the two last of which he was consecutively chosen Governor of that Country, tho' not exceeding the Age of Twenty four Years. In the beginning of the Great Parliament, he was elected to serve his Country among them, without the least application made on his part to that end: And in this Station he soon made appear how capable he was of managing great Affairs, possessing in the highest Perfection, a quick and ready Apprehension, a strong and tenacious Memory, a profound and penetrating Judgment, a just and noble Eloquence, with an easy and graceful manner of Speaking. To these were added, a singular Zeal and Affection for the Good of the Commonwealth, and a Resolution and Courage, not

to be shaken or diverted from the Publick Service. He had been removed by the late King from being Treasurer of the Navy, for performing his Duty in the House of Commons, and being restored to that Employment by the Parliament, he freely contributed one half of the Profits, amounting to the Sum of Two thousand Pounds yearly, towards carrying on the War for the Liberties of *England*. When that War was ended, he put the Receipt for the Navy in such a way, that by Order of the Parliament, the whole Expence of that Office exceeded not One thousand Pounds by Year; Men being brought by this means to understand, that they were not placed in Employments to serve themselves, but to serve the Publick. And that this Conduct was not mistaken, the Successes of our Arms by Sea against *Portugal, France, Holland*, and other Enemies, did abundantly manifest. When *Cromwel* had treacherously advanced himself upon the Ruins of the Commonwealth, he would not be induced by any means to favour or countenance his Usurpation, chusing rather to suffer Imprisonment and other Hardships; than to comply with Tyranny under any form. Upon the return of King *Charles*, being conscious to himself of having done nothing in relation to Publick Affairs, for which he could not willingly and chearfully suffer, he continued at his House in *Hampstead* near *London*; where under false and

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unworthy Pretences, that he had engaged in Councils with some of the Army to drive him out of *England* again, he was seized and imprisoned in the *Tower* ; from whence he was carried from one Place to another for the space of about two Years ; after the expiration of which, they who feared his Abilities, and knew his Integrity, thought convenient to violate the publick Faith, and under a Form of Law to put him to death.

The King of *France*, who had been fully informed of the Importance of the Town of *Dunkirk*, which had been acquir'd by the Arms of the Common-wealth ; and that his Brother of *England*, notwithstanding the vast Sums he had received from the People, still wanted more to supply the Excesses of his way of Living, tempted him with the Offer of between Three and four hundred thousand Pounds for that Place, which after some Difficulties was accepted, the bargain struck, and the Town surrendred to the *French* : An Action so infamous that it wants a Name, rendering him equally contemptible both to Protestants and Papists, and astonishing in the Eyes of all *Europe*, that no Man on this side the Sea would believe it possible, till they found it confirm'd from all Parts, that the *French* were actually enter'd into Possession.

About the same time a Treaty was concluded between *England* and *Holland*, the Foundation

tion of which having been laid in the Blood of our three Friends before-mention'd, the Superstructure was rais'd with the like Materials ; and the *Dutch* agreed to an Article, importing, That if any, who had been the Judges of the late King, or otherwise excepted from the Benefit of the Act of Indemnity, should be found within their Territories, they should upon demand be forthwith delivered into the Hands of such as should be appointed by the King of *England* to receive them : And that if any other Persons of the *English* Nation should at any time be demanded by the King, the States obliged themselves to surrender them also, in case they should be found in that Country fourteen Days after such demand made.

In the mean time the *English* Court knowing themselves to be fallen under the Hatred and Contempt of the People for their Cruelty, Immorality and Corruption, aggravated by the late sale of *Bunkirk*, resolved by the contrivance of a Plot to disarm their Enemies, and provide for their present Safety. To this end by the means of Major General *Brown* and others, Money was advanced and Arms put into the Hands of some Persons, among whom one *Bradley* who had formerly belonged to *Cromwel* was the Principal, that by giving small Sums to indigent Officers of the late Army, and by shewing the Arms they had ready, they might engage them and others

in this pretended Design. An Account of this Plot was printed and published, affirming, That divers thousands of ill-affected Persons were ready, under my Command, to seize the *Tower* and the City of *London*; then to march directly to *Whitehall* in order to kill the King and *Monk*, with a Resolution to give no Quarter to any that adhered to them, and after that to declare for a Common-wealth. By this means one *Baker*, who had been of the Guard to *Cromwel*, and since the disbanding of the Army had been reduced to grind Knives for a poor living, having received half a Crown from *Bradley*, and promised his Assistance when there should be occasion, was executed with some others for this Conspiracy. However this served the Court for a Pretence to seize five or six hundred Persons; to disarm all those they suspected; to require those they had taken to give Bonds of 200*l.* each, not to take up Arms against the King, and to increase their standing Guards. They were not ashamed also to give out, that their Messengers had been so near to seize my Person, that they had taken my Cloak and Slippers, and committed two Gentlemen to the *Tower* for accompanying me, as they said, to the Sea-side in order to my escape; tho' at the same time they knew so well where I was, that they had employ'd Instruments to procure me to be assassinated in *Switzerland*, which was discovered to a Merchant of *Lau-*
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fanna by a Person of Quality living in these Parts, who had refused ten thousand Crowns offered to him on the part of the Dutcheſs of *Anjou*, Siſter to his Gracious Maſteſty, if he would undertake that Province.

The Earl of *Antrim*, an Iriſh Papiſt, and one who had been concerned among the firſt in the Rebellion of that Country, having been ſeized at *London*, as I mentioned before, and afterwards ſent Priſoner to *Ireland*, was ordered by a Letter under the King's Hand and Seal to be cleared and ſet at Liberty, charging the Guilt of that Rebellion upon his Father, and affirming in the ſaid Letter, *That the Earl of Antrim had not done any thing, without War-rant and Authority from the King his Father*; tho' it was well known that he had his Head and Hands deeply and early engaged in that bloody Work. Thus the Mask was openly taken off, in confidence, that a People deprived of their Leaders, diſpirited by the late Executions, and awed by the Authority of a complying Houſe of Commons, would not be able to ſhew their Reſentment.

In the Months of *September* and *October* 166, we had a conſiderable addition to our Company by the arrival of Mr. *William Say*, Colonel *Biſco*, Mr. Serjeant *Dendy*, Mr. *Nicholas Love*, Mr. *Andrew Broughton*, Mr. *Slingsby Bethel*, and Mr. *Cornelius Holland* at *Laufanna*. The three Gentlemen firſt named having paſſed by *Bern* in their Journey to us

had made a Visit to Mr. *Humelius*, the principal Minister of that Place, who having a competent knowledge of the English Tongue, had been highly kind and serviceable in procuring the Order of the Lords of *Bern* for our Protection. By him they were entertained with all manner of Civilities, and informed that we were at *Lausanna*, which gave us an opportunity of returning our Acknowledgment for his Favour to our Friends and Countrymen, with our Desires that he would be pleased to present our humble Thanks to their Excellencies for their honourable Protection; being obliged to use this way rather than any other; not only because of the Respect he had acquired in that Place by his singular Merit, but because we were not sufficiently acquainted with the Language of the Country, to make our Addresses to the Government. Upon the return of his Answer to our Message we perceived that he had performed our Desires with great Affection, and that it was the Opinion of our best Friends there, and in particular of Mr. Treasurer *Steiger*, that for many Reasons it would be more convenient for us to remove to *Vevay*, than to remain longer at *Lausanna*. Having received this Advice, six of us, after we had taken leave of the Magistrates, who expressed their Sorrow for our departure, quitted our Residence and went to *Vevay*; but Mr. *Phelps* and Colonel *Bisco* having bought Goods at *Geneva*, and other Places, resolved to try if
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by Trading in *Germany* and *Holland*, they could improve the Stock of Money they had. Mr. Serjeant *Dendy* and Mr. *Andrew Broughton* chose rather to continue at *Lausanna* than to remove with us, yet promising to make us frequent Visits where-ever we should resolve to fix our Habitation.

At *Vevay* we were received with the greatest Demonstrations of Kindness and Affection both from the Magistrates and People: The publick Wine was presented to us in great abundance, and the next Morning the *Banderet* or principal Magistrate, accompanied by most of the Members of the Council, came to the Place where we lay to give us a Visit; expressing themselves ready to serve us to the utmost of their Power; giving us Thanks for the Honour they said we did the Town in coming to reside among them; and assuring us, That tho' they were sufficiently informed concerning our Persons and Employments both Civil and Military, yet the principal Motive that inclined them to offer their Services in so hearty a manner was, the Consideration of our Sufferings for the Liberties of our Country. We returned our Thanks as well as we could; and the next Day having retired to a private House belonging to one Monsieur *Dubois* who was one of the Council of the Town, we were again visited by the Magistrates and presented with Wine, with Assurances that their Excellencies of *Bern* had

caused them to understand, That they would take the Civilities they should do to us, as done to themselves. They acquainted us also, That Seats were order'd for us in both their Churches; That the *Commander*, as they name him, was directed to accompany us the first time to the one, and the *Chatelain* to the other. These Favours so considerable, so cordial and so seasonable, I hope a Man in my Condition may mention, without incurring the charge of Ostentation.

The endless Prodigality of the English Court, the Persecution of the Dissenters, the Sale of *Dunkirk*, the Articles exhibited in Parliament by the Earl of *Bristol* against the Chancellor *Hyde*, and the Factions ensuing on that Account, together with many other Causes of Discontent and Division, had so alienated the Affections of the People from their King, that the best Judges were of Opinion, that if a favourable Conjunction should happen, they would be as ready to shake off the Yoak, as they had been foolish and inconsiderate in putting it on: And our Friends in all Parts began to entertain hopes that they might be again employ'd to rescue their Country from Servitude. In this posture of Affairs, Colonel *Algernon Sidney*, who, when *Monk* acted his treacherous part in *England*, was one of the three Plenipotentiaries that had been sent by the Parliament to mediate a Peace between the Two Northern Crowns, which

which they effected in Conjunction with the like number impowered by the States of *Holland* to that end ; and since that time had resided at *Rome* and other Parts of *Italy*, thought convenient to draw nearer home, that if an opportunity should offer, he might not be wanting to his Duty and the publick Service. In his way he was pleased to honour us with a Visit in our retirement in *Switzerland*, assuring us of his Affection and Friendship, and no way declining to own us and the Cause for which we suffer'd. He favour'd us with his Company for about three Weeks, and at his departure presented me with a Pair of Pistols, the Barrils of which were made at *Brescia* in *Lombardy* by old *Lazzarino Cominazzo*. Designing to go for *Flanders*, where he resolved to pass the ensuing Winter, he took his Journey by the way of *Bern*, doing all the good Offices he could for us with the Advoyer and other principal Magistrates, assuring them of the great Sense we had of their Excellencies Favours, and of our Desires to have our Acknowledgment presented to them in the best manner ; not forgetting to let them know, that they would oblige a considerable part of the good People of *England* by their Kindness and Civilities to us. He had a long Conference with the Advoyer about the Affairs of *England*, and in a Letter written to me from *Bern* he acquainted me, that he thought he had left him and others in a Temper rather to add than

diminish their Favours to us. But upon the whole Matter our Noble Friend advised that some of us, who might be best able to travel, should go to *Bern*, and pay our Complement to the Government in our own Persons, intimating that so generous and publick a Favour deserved a publick Acknowledgment. Having imparted this Advice to our Friends, Mr. *Nicholas Love*, and Mr. *Andrew Broughton* (who tho' usually residing at *Lausanna* was then with us) offered their Company; but Mr. *Lisle* made many Objections against this Undertaking at that time; so that we Three were obliged to go to *Bern* in the Name of the rest of the Company. Being arrived there we went first to wait on our good Friend Mr. *Humelius*, who received us with great Affection, and expressed his Joy for the Resolution we had taken to present our Thanks personally to their Excellencies. We desired of him that some Means might be found to make our Addresses with as little Ceremony and Noise as possible, which he approved, and promised to see Mr. Treasurer *Steiger* the same Evening, and to consult with him, in order to serve us according to our Desires, assuring us that the next Morning we should hear from them. In conformity to his Promise Mr. *Humelius* came to us in Person, with Assurances from the Treasurer of his Affection and Services; acquainting us, That we should have the liberty of making our Acknowledgment

ment to the Council of *Bern* in our own manner, either by Speech or Writing, as should be most agreeable to us. Upon which, considering our Inability to express our Selves in the *French* or *German* Language as was requisite on such an Occasion, we resolved to do it in Writing. Having agreed upon this way, we accompanied Mr. *Humelius* to see his Children, as he called them, who were Orphans of both Sexes, born of poor Parents, and bred up by the Magistracy in a Place set apart for that purpose, all manner of Necessaries being provided for them, 'till they should be capable of being employ'd in such Trades as were proper for Persons in their Condition. From thence we retired to prepare our Address, which we agreed to present in the *French* Tongue as follows.

Illustres

Illustres, Hauts & Puissans Souverains & Trez honorez Seigneurs.

“ **A** Yant este contrainsts par l’etrange Re-
 “ volution des Affaires d’Angleterre (le
 “ lieu de nostre Naissance) pour eviter l’orage
 “ qui nous menacoit & tous les gens de bien,
 “ de quitter nostre Patrie, apres que nous y
 “ avons fait nostre possible pour l’avancement
 “ de la gloire de Dieu & le bien de la Repub-
 “ lique, nous avons trouve une Assistance
 “ particuliere du *Tout Puissant*, en ce qu’il a
 “ dispose Vos Excellences a nous secourir &
 “ proteger au temps de nostre adversité. C’est
 “ cette faveur que deux de nos Compatriotes
 “ & un de nous ont deja experimenté par la
 “ protection particuliere quil a plu a Vos Ex-
 “ cellences de leur accorder, les autres se re-
 “ posans sur la Generale, que toutes person-
 “ nes pieuses & paisibles obtiennent sous le
 “ Gouvernement juste & favorable de Vos
 “ Excellences.

“ Comme nous sommes obligez d’Addresser
 “ nos vœux au *Seigneur* pour le remercier
 “ d’une Grace si particuliere; Aussi, afin de
 “ temoigner a Vos Excellences jusqu’ou va
 “ nostre ressentiment, nous avons plusieurs fois
 “ prié quelques Seigneurs de Vostre Illustre
 “ Senat,

“ Senat, de vous l’assurer de nostre part. Mais
 “ ayant depuis esprouvé les effets de vostre
 “ bonté d’une maniere extraordinaire, nous
 “ avons cru estre obligé de rendre personnelle-
 “ ment ce devoir a Vos Excellences. C’est ce
 “ que font a present deux d’entre nous, de
 “ nostre propre part & de celle de ceux qui
 “ ont este conservé par Vostre protection Ge-
 “ nerale ; Et un de nostre nombre, de sa
 “ propre part, & de celle de Monsieur Guil-
 “ laume Cawley, a qui Vos Excellences ont
 “ fait la Grace de donner une protection par-
 “ ticuliere ; qui est tresaffligé que les infirmi-
 “ tez corporelles qui l’accompagnent, le pri-
 “ vent du bien & du contentement qu’il au-
 “ roit receu, s’il eust pu avoir l’avantage de
 “ vous temoigner sa reconnoissance en per-
 “ sonne.

“ Comme nous avons pris cette occasion
 “ pour Vous donner des assurances du ressen-
 “ timent que nous avons de tant de bonté qu’il
 “ a plu a Vos Excellences de nous temoigner,
 “ nous prenons aussi ce temps pour vous assurer
 “ de nostre Obeissance, & de la grande passion
 “ que nous avons de vous en pouvoir donner
 “ quelques marques considerables, si Dieu
 “ nous en donne l’Occasion, dont nous ne
 “ desesperons point. Cependant nous pri-
 “ erons l’Eternel qu’il vueille fortifier Vos
 “ Excellences de plus en plus a le servir, jus-
 “ ques a ce qu’ayant parachevé le cours de
 “ cette Vie, vous veniez a recevoir la Cou-
 “ ronne

“ ronne qui est preparé pour ceux qui le
 “ craignent

Illustres, Hauts & Puissans Soverains,
 & tres honorez Seigneurs,

Vos Serviteurs Tres humbles
 & Tresobeissants,

Edmond Ludlow, &c.

The same in English.

To the Illustrious , High and
 Mighty Sovereigns , and most
 honoured Lords, their Excel-
 lencies of *Bern*.

HAVING been constrained by the late extraor-
 dinary Revolution of Affairs in England,
 the Place of our Birth, for avoiding the Storm
 that threatned us and the good People there, to
 quit that Land, after we had used our utmost En-
 deavours for the advancement of God's Glory and
 the Good of our Country, we find cause to admire
 the Goodness of the Almighty, for inclining Your
 Ex-

Excellencies to succour and protect us in this time of our Distress. This Favour two of our Country-men, and one of our Number, have already received, by virtue of those particular Protections which it has pleased Your Excellencies to grant; the rest of our Company relying on the General One, that all pious and peaceable Persons enjoy under Your Excellencies righteous and just Government.

As we esteem our selves obliged to bless God for this signal and especial Favour; so also to testify to Your Excellencies our grateful Acknowledgment, we have divers times desired some of the Honourable Lords of this Illustrious Senat to present You with our most humble Thanks. But every day more and more experiencing the Effects of Your Goodness and Favour, we have thought our selves obliged personally to pay this Duty to Your Excellencies. This two of us do at this time for our selves, and in the behalf of others who have been preserved by virtue of your general Protection; and one of us for himself and on the part of Mr. William Cawley, one of those, to whom Your Excellencies have been pleased to grant a particular Protection; who finds himself sensibly afflicted, that the Infirmities of his Body do now deprive him of the Happiness and Satisfaction he should have received if he could have tender'd his Duty in Person.

Having taken this Occasion to testify the deep Sense we have of Your Excellencies Favours, we desire leave to assure You of our Obedience, and the

Am-

Ambition we have to give some signal Testimony of our Gratitude to Your Excellencies, if God shall favour us with an Opportunity, of which we do not despair. In the mean time, That God will fortify Your Excellencies in his Service, till having finished your Course in this World, You shall receive the Crown prepared for those that fear him, shall be the Prayer of

Illustrious, High and Mighty Sovereigns,
and most honoured Lords,

Your most humble and most
obedient Servants,

Edmund Ludlow, &c.

We had scarce finished this Paper, when Mr. Treasurer *Steiger*, accompanied by Mr. *Humelius*, came to our Lodging; and having acquainted us that he should not have failed to be with us in the Morning, if the publick Affairs had not required his Presence at the Council, he made us the Offer of his Services in a most affectionate manner, and declared his Resolution to assist us to the utmost of his Power; expressing his Detestation of the late Action of the States of *Holland*, in delivering up our Friends into the Hands of their mortal Enemies, and purchasing the Security of their Trade

Trade with so much Shame to themselves. When we had answered his Civilities in the best manner we could, and given him our Thanks for the Offers of his Favour, we shewed him the Paper above-mentioned; which having perused and approved, he desired Mr. *Humelius* to accompany us to the Advoyer (or President of the Council, by whose Hands all Addresses pass to their Excellencies) and took his leave for that time.

The Advoyer being informed that we were waiting to present our selves to him, gave Orders for our admittance, and received us with great Kindness, expressing his Sense of the Justice of that Cause which we had defended, and for which we then suffered, together with the Esteem, which he assured us their Excellencies in general, and himself in particular, had of our Persons. We desired him to believe, That we had the deepest Sense of His and Their Excellencies Favour, attributing the Civilities and Respect we had received as well from the Magistrates as from the People in all Places within the Territories of their Excellencies, to the Bounty and Favour of the Government towards us: To which he replied, That he was very glad, their Officers and others of their Subjects had so well performed their Duty. Then proceeding to acquaint him with the occasion of our coming to *Bern*, I delivered the Address into his Hands, with our humble Desires that it might be presented

presented to their Excellencies; which when he had read and intimated that my Name was not unknown to him, he assured us with much Affection, That he would not fail to present it to their Excellencies, and to return a speedy Answer. I would have saved him that Trouble, and therefore told him that we expected no Answer, and desired no more than their Excellencies acceptance of our humble Acknowledgments. But he said we should have an Answer; accompanying us, when we took leave, to the outward Gate, not permitting us to prevail with him to the contrary.

Having dispatch'd this Business, we went to take a View of the publick Buildings, particularly that, where the Senate and Council of Two hundred are used to assemble. The Chambers are opposite to each other, and divided by a narrow Passage, on both sides of which are Rooms for the reception of such as have any Affairs in either of those Places. From thence we were conducted to the *Arsenal*, where we saw a Train of Artillery consisting of about One hundred Pieces of all kind of Ordnance, with Ammunition and all Things necessary. There were Arms, as I conjectur'd, sufficient for about Twenty thousand Foot, and a proportionable number of Horse. But I confess nothing that I saw gave me greater Satisfaction, than to find a Statue erected in one of the Chambers of the *Arsenal*, to the Memory of *William Fel*, who may
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in great measure be called, The Founder of this Common-wealth. For when a certain Knight called *Grisler*, who was Governor of *Vry* and *Suitz*, after many repeated Acts of Tyranny, had wantonly caused a Cap to be set on the top of a Pole in the Market-place of *Altorf*, commanding all those who should pass that way to uncover their Heads, and to pay the same Honours to the Cap, as if he himself had been there present in Person; *William Tel* refused to obey, and for his Disobedience was sentenced by *Grisler* to be put to Death, unless he could with one Arrow hit an Apple that should be placed on the Head of his Son. To this hard Condition he was compelled to submit, and on the Day appointed, in the presence of the Governor, struck the Apple with his Arrow from the Child's Head. But *Grisler* having observed that he had brought with him two Arrows, tho' he might use no more than one; and desiring to be informed why he had so done, *William Tel*, upon the Governor's Promise that he should not be put to Death, acknowledged, That if he had killed his Son with the one, he would have reveng'd his Blood on the Tyrant with the other. The Governor conscious of his own Crimes, and therefore fearing the Resolution of such a Man, tho' he would not put him to Death, resolved to imprison him during Life; and to that end caused him to be tied and thrown into a Boat, with intention to see him

securely laid in the Dungeon of the strong Castle of *Cusnach*. After they had been some time upon the Lake of *Ury*, a violent Storm arising, the Governor finding his Life in great danger, and knowing *Tel* to be an expert Waterman, caused him to be unbound, that he might help to save the Lives of himself and Company. This he undertook to do, and steering towards *Suitz* brought the Boat so near the Shoar, that taking up his Cross-bow which lay by him, he leaped out upon a Rock, (called to this Day *The Stone of Tel*) pushed off the Boat with his Foot, and made his Escape into the Mountains. In the mean time the Governor lay floating in his Boat upon the Water, and not without great danger and difficulty at last arrived in the Port of *Brunn*, from whence he continued his way to *Cusnach*; of which *William Tel* being informed, and well acquainted with every part of the Woods and Hills, he posted himself in a private Place by which the Tyrant was to pass, and with his Cross-bow shot him dead upon the Spot. The Success of this Action so animated the rest of his Associates who had formed a Design to restore the Liberty of their Country, that on a Day appointed they seized their Governors, demolished the Castles where they lived, banished them and their Families, and bravely freed themselves from that Tyranny which they could not bear. Besides the Statue of *William Tel* taken in full proportion, standing
with

with a Cross-bow in his Hand, and aiming at an Apple on a Child's Head, there is also a Statue of the first Advoyer, with two more, of Persons who were principally eminent in establishing the Common-wealth, armed *de cap en pied*, and one of them on Horseback, to encourage others to defend that Liberty which their Ancestors had purchased for them.

This Night as we were at Supper we received a Complement from the Advoyer, accompanied with a Present of Wine; and the next Morning an Order was brought to Mr. *Humelius*, who was then with us, from their Excellencies of *Bern*, written in the *German* Tongue, which being translated by him into *English* contained as follows:

September the 3d, 1663.

Concerning the three English Gentlemen, who have for some time resided at Vevay, and have this Day presented in our Assembly of Council their Thanks for our Protection formerly granted to them; 'tis resolved, That they shall be saluted on our part with a Present of Wine, and that Mr. Treasurer Steiger, with Mr. Kilberger and you our Doyne, do acquaint them with our Affection and good Will to them, and assure them of the continuation of the same for the time to come.

Mr. *Humelius* after he had read this Order, informed us that the Gentlemen therein mentioned, with some other Magistrates, designed to dine with us that Day, and had desired him to accompany them. Accordingly between Eleven and Twelve Mr. Treasurer *Steiger*, Colonel *Weiss*, and one more of the 24 Senators, in the room of Mr. *Kilberger*, who was diverted by some publick Business, attended by the Grand *Sautier* with his Mace, and three other Gentlemen, came to us at our Lodging; where after about an hours Discourse, Mr. Treasurer being informed that the Dinner was set upon the Table, invited us to go down into the Hall, and with great Civility placed our Company, which being done he order'd the Grand *Sautier* to lay aside his Mace. After we had sat about a quarter of an hour, two Officers clothed in their Excellencies Livery brought in the Present of Wine that had been order'd, upon which one of the three Gentlemen who came with Mr. Treasurer arising from the Table, harangued us in the Name of their Excellencies; concluding with an assurance of the continuation of their Favour. To this we thought our selves obliged to answer, That as we ow'd our Lives and Liberties to the Protection of their Excellencies, we resolved to sacrifice all in their Service, when we should be so happy to find an Occasion.

Dinner being over, a Question was started by Colonel *Weiss*, How it came to pass, that We, who for many Years had the whole Power of the Three Nations in our Hands, were removed from the Government without shedding one drop of Blood? To which I answer'd, That for the right understanding of the Affairs that had lately passed in *England*, it would be necessary to take up the Matter from the beginning. But they pressing me to favour them with some Account of those Transactions, I told them with all the Brevity I could, " That most of those Persons who
 " had first engaged in the War, having made
 " their own Peace, had endeavour'd to deliver Us and the Cause it self into the Hands
 " of our Enemies; and tho' they had many
 " Opportunities to have ended the Dispute by
 " destroying the King's Army, they neglected
 " all, and only endeavoured to reduce the
 " Crown to their own Terms. This was visible in the Conduct of the Earl of *Effex* on
 " several Occasions, and in that of the Earl of
 " *Manchester* after the Battle of *Newberry*, who
 " tho' he had Twenty thousand Men in his
 " Army, flush'd with that Victory, yet suffer'd the King with Seven thousand only,
 " to carry off the Cannon he had left at a Place
 " which stood near the Ground where he had
 " been routed a few Weeks before, without
 " once offering to attack him, giving this at a
 " Council of War for the Reason of his re-

“ refusing to fight, *That if the King were beaten*
 “ *twenty times by us, he would be still King ; but*
 “ *if he should once beat us, we should be all treat-*
 “ *ed as Traytors :* For which being accused in
 “ the House of Commons, tho’ they thought
 “ not convenient to proceed against him cri-
 “ minally ; yet upon this and divers other
 “ Considerations, they removed him, toge-
 “ gether with the Earl of *Essex* and the rest of
 “ the Nobility from their Commands in the
 “ Army, making choice of Commoners to fill
 “ their Places, whose Interest they knew it
 “ was to take away the Monarchy it self. By
 “ this means they soon put an end to the
 “ War, sentenced the King to die for the
 “ Blood that had been shed, establish’d a Free
 “ Common-wealth, brought their Enemies at
 “ home to submit to their Authority, and re-
 “ duced those abroad to accept such Terms as
 “ they would give. In the midst of all this
 “ Prosperity they were betray’d by *Oliver*
 “ *Cromwel*, whom they had entrusted with the
 “ Command of their Army ; who, having
 “ moulded the greatest part of the Officers to
 “ his purpose, by calumniating the Parlia-
 “ ment, proposing Advancement to the Am-
 “ bitious, and deluding the Simple with a
 “ Shew of Religion ; back’d by the assistance
 “ of the Clergy and Lawyers, (who had
 “ been threatned by the Parliament with a
 “ Reformation of their Practices) ejected his
 “ Masters, and usurped their Authority ;

“ endeavouring during the five Years of his
 “ Reign, to ruin all that had been faithful to
 “ the Interest of the Common-wealth, and
 “ advancing those who would not scruple to
 “ sacrifice their Consciences to his Ambition.
 “ By these ways the Army became so cor-
 “ rupted, that tho’ after the Ufurper’s death
 “ they had been persuaded with great diffi-
 “ culty to depose the Son, and to permit the
 “ Restitution of the Parliament, yet they
 “ were soon after induced, under frivolous
 “ Pretences, to offer Violence to them a se-
 “ cond time ; which rendring them odious
 “ to the People, gave an opportunity to *Monk*,
 “ by declaring for the Parliament, to divide
 “ their Councils, and to render them useless.
 “ And when the Parliament had in Gratitude
 “ for their Restitution conferr’d many unde-
 “ served Favours upon *Monk*, he also, who
 “ had been a Creature of *Crommel* and ad-
 “ vanced by him, betray’d his Trust, and
 “ contrary to many Protestations, Oaths and
 “ solemn Asseverations, brought a great num-
 “ ber of Persons to Vote in Parliament who
 “ had formerly been ejected by the House,
 “ which turn’d the Ballance from the side of
 “ the Common-wealth, and under the Influe-
 “ ence of his Forces brought in the Son of the
 “ late King.

Tho’ the brevity of this Account would
 not admit of that Clearness and Perspicuity
 which I could have wish’d ; yet our generous

Friends were not only willing to pardon the Imperfections, but gave me Thanks for the Information they said I had given them of our Affairs, expressing themselves deeply sensible of the Troubles that had fallen upon us and the honest Interest by so base a Treachery.

After this Conversation the Senators rising from their Seats, we gave them Thanks for the Honours they had been pleased to do us, and according to our Duty offered to accompany them to their respective Habitations. But these truly noble Persons would by no means permit us; and being desirous that their Favours to us should be yet more publick, they invited us to go to the Church, that all Men might see they were not ashamed to own what they had done. To this end Mr. Treasurer *Steiger* having ordered the Mace to be carried before him, constrained me to take the right Hand, Monsieur *Humelius* and Colonel *Weiss* doing the like to Mr. *Love* and Mr. *Broughton*, obliging us to enter the Church before them, and placing us in the most honourable Seats; neither could we prevail with them to go out before us from the Place of publick Worship, or to permit us to accompany them to their Houses. The next Day we went to wait on the Advoyer who was then preparing for his Embassy to *France*, where he and another Person were appointed to represent the Canton of *Bern*; and having acquainted

acquainted him with the deep impresson their Excellencies and his Favours had made upon us, he expressed himself highly sensible of our Condition, and heartily desirous of our Restitution, with Assurances of his farther Services on all Occasions, and promising the like Favour and Protection to as many of our Countrymen as should come to them. At our taking leave he accompanied us to the outward Gate as in the first Visit, and when we told him he had exceeded in the Honours done to us, he condescended to say, That in his own account he had never received so much Honour his Life. After this we paid our Respects and Thanks to Mr. Treasurer *Steiger*, to the ancient Bailif Monsieur *Lentulus*, to Colonel *Weiss*, and to our true Friend Monsieur *Humelius*, with divers others of the Senate and Council. And being desirous to wait also on General *D'Erlach*, who, we were informed, had much favour'd us in the Business of our Protection, we went to his House; but he was gone out of Town, and we had not the Advantage to see him at that time.

Having been thus successful in our Affairs at *Bern*, we returned to our Residence at *Vevay*, where we had not been long, before we were informed, That an *Irish* Man going under the Name of *Riardo*, and belonging, as he said, to the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, was arrived at *Turin*, and had formed a Design
against

against our Lives ; and that Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, since the late Revolution called Lord *Hollis*, and at that time Ambassador in *France*, had been with one Monsieur *Lullin*, who was Agent at *Paris* for the Republick of *Geneva*, to desire Satisfaction for a Book which he supposed to be printed in that Place, in favour of those who had been condemn'd for putting the late King to death. But that which alarm'd us most, was a Report, That Letters had been sent from the King of *England* to their Excellencies of *Bern*, to demand our Persons. Of this Information having given an Account to Mr. *Humelius*, and desired him to use his diligence in finding out the Truth of these Things ; We soon received in answer, That he had heard nothing of the two first ; and as to the last, he assured us that no Letters of that sort from *England* were yet come to the Hands of their Excellencies ; but if such a Thing should happen, he would not fail to give us timely Notice and Advice, for our government on such an occasion. By a second, which we received from him soon after, he informed us, That General *D'Erlach* had acquainted him with the arrival of a Courier from *France*, who had brought Letters for their Ambassador, together with particular Orders to inform himself, whether their Excellencies of *Bern* might by any means be induced to deliver us up, or at least to withdraw their Protection from us. But not finding the Ambassador in
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the Country (he having taken a Journey to the Court of *France*, to be present at the Reception of the *Swiss* Ambassadors, who had been sent thither to ratify the Treaty lately concluded with that King) he was returned to *Paris*, and had carried his Letters back with him. And I am inclined to believe that our Enemies, upon Information of the honourable Reception we had found from their Excellencies, were intirely discouraged from attempting any thing in that way, and therefore turned their Malice against us into Designs of Violence and Assassination.

Divers Letters from *Turin*, *Geneva*, *Lyons*, and other Places, which we and our Friends at *Vevay* received, were full of Advices from those Parts, that so many and such desperate Persons had engaged against us, that it would be next to impossible to escape their Hands : And one of my best Friends, who was then at *Geneva*, sent a Messenger Express to me with a Letter to inform me, That he had received a Billet from a Person who knew our Friendship, and desired not to be known, with these Expressions at the end, *If you wish the preservation of the English General at Vevay, let him know, That he must remove from thence with speed, if he have any regard to his own Safety.* We also received certain Information, That *Riardo* had been seen in the *Pais de Vaux*, and in several parts of *Savoy*. Being somewhat alarum'd with these Things, our Company met, in order

der to consult what was fit to be done on this occasion, and soon came to a Resolution, That we would not remove into any Country that was governed by a Monarch, least we should be guilty of our own Blood, by seeking Protection from those who were concerned in Interest to destroy us. It remained only to consider, whether we should quit the Place of our present Residence for any other under the same Government; or whether we should remove from the Territories of *Bern* to some other Republick. The first we were unwilling to do for many Respects, and particularly on account of the good Will and Affection that the People had expressed to us: And to the second we could by no means consent, because the Protection of their Excellencies, had been so frankly, publickly and generously extended to us. So that having determined to remain at *Vevay*, and being informed that a Fair would be kept there in a few Days, we contented our selves with changing our Lodging for one Night, and procuring the Guard of the Town to be doubled during the Day of the Fair, least our Enemies should disguise themselves, and mixing with the concourse of People pass unsuspected, till they might find an opportunity of surprizing us.

According to our Information, some of the Villains who were employ'd to destroy'd us, had on the Fourteenth of *November* 1663.
 passed

passed the Lake from *Savoy*, in order to put their bloody Design in execution the next Day as we should be going to the Church. They arrived at *Vevay* about an hour after Sun-set, and having divided themselves, one part took up their Quarters in one Inn, and the other in another. The next Day being *Sunday*, Monsieur *Dubois* our Landlord going early to the Church, discovered a Boat at the side of the Lake with four Watermen in her, their Oars in order, and ready to put off. Not far from the Boat stood two Persons with Cloaks thrown over their Shoulders, two sitting under a Tree, and two more in the same posture a little way from them. Monsieur *Dubois* concluding they had Arms under their Cloaks, and that these Persons had way-laid us, with a design to murder us as we should be going to the Sermon, pretending to have forgotten something, returned home and advised us of what he had observed. In his way to us he had met one Mr. *Binet*, who acquainted him that two Men whom he suspected of some bad Intention, had posted themselves near his House, and that four more had been seen in the Market-place; but that finding themselves observed, they had all retired towards the Lake. By this means the Way leading to the Church through the Town being cleared, we went to the Sermon without any Molestation, and said nothing to any Man of what we had heard, because we had not yet certainly found
that

that they had a Design against us. Returning from Church I was informed, That the suspected Persons were all dining at one of the Inns, which excited my Curiosity to take a view of the Boat. Accordingly I went with a small Company, and found the four Watermen by the Boat, the Oars laid in their Places, a great quantity of Straw in the bottom of the Boat, and all Things ready to put off. About an Hour after Dinner I met our Landlord, and having inquired of him concerning the Persons before-mentioned, he assured me they could be no other than a Company of Rogues ; that they had Arms under the Straw of the Boat ; and that they had cut the Withes that held the Oars of the Town-boats, to prevent any pursuit if they should be forced to fly. But these Russians who had observed the Actions of Monsieur *Dubois*, and suspected he would cause them to be seized, came down soon after I had viewed the Boat, and in great haste caused the Watermen to put off, and returned to *Savoy*. This Discovery being made, the Chatelain, the Banderet, together with all the Magistrates and People of the Town, were much troubled that we had not given them timely notice, that so they might have been seized. We afterwards understood that one *Du Pose* of *Lyons*, Monsieur *Du Pre* a *Savoyard*, (of whom I shall have occasion to speak more largely) one *Cerise* of *Lyons*, with *Riardo* before-mention'd, were part of this Crew,

Crew, and that *Riardo* paid the whole Expence they made at *Vevay*.

The Bailiff, the Chatelain and the whole Council, shewing themselves highly sensible of this Affront offered to the Government of their Excellencies, and of the Injury done to us, the Banderet gave Order that the Boats of the Town should be ready to attack them in case they should return to make any Attempt against us. They not only offer'd us a Guard for the Safety of our House, but condescended to tell us, That they were ready to do that Office themselves. The Bailiff directed the Chatelain to require all the Inn-keepers every night to give an account upon Oath, either to him or to Monsieur *Dubois* our Landlord, of all Persons that should come to lodge at their Houses; and the Council of the Town order'd, That no Burgefs should entertain any Man, for whom they would not answer. Their Excellencies of *Bern* also being informed of this Attempt, sent their Orders to the Bailiffs of *Lausanna*, *Morges* and *Vevay*, to take especial care of our Persons, and to search all Boats coming from *Savoy*, of which they should have any Suspicion.

Monsieur *Du Pre* finding himself disappointed in this Enterprize, and fearing that for this Affront to their Excellencies of *Bern*, he might be deprived of the Profits of some Lands lying within their Territories, of which he had lately taken Possession after a long Suit

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at Law in the right of his Wife, and which had been sequestred from him, because he had violently carried her out of their Country before Marriage, procured one of my good Friends at *Geneva* to write to me on his Behalf, and to inform me that he had no otherwife engaged in this Affair than to do me Service. Our Landlord also being unwilling to provoke him any farther, knowing the desperate Resolution of the Man, desired that if I should write to any of my Friends at *Bern* concerning this Attempt, I would only name *Riardo*, who was confessed to be the principal Undertaker. But tho' I thought it not proper for us to be the Accusers and Prosecutors of those who were concerned in this Design; yet being not able to see any Reason to do as was desired in his behalf, I resolved to leave the whole Matter to the Wisdom of their Excellencies; who after they had received the Report of those in our Parts, to whom they had committed the Examination of this Affair, being assured that *Monsieur Du Pre* was one of that number, seized again into their Hands the Estate he had enjoy'd in the right of his Wife.

Our Enemies still giving out in all Places where they durst, That they would not desist till they had effected their Design, I received a Letter from a good Friend in which I found these Words. *You are hated and feared more than all the rest of your Companions: Your Head*

is set at a great Price: 'Tis against you they take all this Pains to find Assassins, and 'twas on your account they contrived the late Attempt; so that upon the whole Matter I cannot but advise, that you would resolve to retire to some place where you may be unknown, there being, in my Opinion, no other way left to secure you from the rage of your Enemies. But having strength'ned our House, and made the best Provision we could for our Defence, being assured of the Affections both of the Magistrates and People of the Town, and the Government having given me Power to ring the Alarum-bell upon occasion, and to that end contrived it so that I could do it from my own Chambers, our Lodgings joining to one of the Gates, I resolved not to remove; especially considering that those who had made the late Attempt, being for the most part well known, had render'd themselves incapable of returning again to *Vevay*: Whereas if we should have removed to any other Place, the same Persons would have found greater facility to execute their Design. As to that part of the Advice, tending to persuade me to go to some Place where I might not be known, I knew it was in vain to think of finding any such within the Territories of their Excellencies, and out of them I resolved not to depart.

In the mean time I was informed by Letters from *England*, That *Riardo* having been at that Court to give account of the ill Success

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of the late Attempt against us, was not only well received by the King, but dispatched with new Orders to carry on the same Design ; and that in his passage through *France* he had been with the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, who was the principal Inſtrument uſed by his Gracious Maſteſty for encouraging and carrying on this Manly Attempt. I was alſo aſſured from *France* that in a Letter to that King, he had acquainted him, That not thinking himſelf ſafe ſo long as the principal Traytors were alive, he deſired his Aſſiſtance to ſeiſe or deſtroy thoſe that were on that ſide the Sea, and particularly thoſe in *Switzerland*.

In proſecution of the Orders that had been ſent from their Excellencies of *Bern*, the Bailiff of *Morges* having notice that one of the Watermen who had brought the Aſſaſſins from *Savoy* to *Vevay* was in that Town, cauſed him to be ſeiſed, and ſent Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Chillon*, which is the Place of Reſidence for the Bailiff of *Vevay*. On the firſt of *January* we were invited by the Bailiff to a publick Entertainment in the Caſtle, and by that means were preſent at his Examination. For ſome time he confeſſed nothing material ; but being found to contradict himſelf in his Answers, and therefore threatned with the *Strappada* by the Bailiff and the Baron de *Chatteler*, he ſeeing the Cord made ready, informed them, That one *Monſieur De la Broette*, and *Monſieur Du Fargis*, both *Savoyards*,
were

were among those who came in the Boat with *Du Pre*, and that one of the four Watermen was the Person who cut the Withes of all the Town-boats to prevent them from pursuing ; adding, that *Du Pre* told them at their return to *Savoy*, That if they had succeeded in their Enterprize they should have had Money enough ; but constantly denying, that he knew any thing of the Design till it had miscarried.

Yet neither the care of the Government to provide by their Justice for our future Safety, nor the disappointment of the Assassins in their late Attempt, could remove the Fears our Friends had entertained of new Designs against our Persons, or persuade them to believe that we could be safe whilst we remained in the Place where we were. Among others, Mr. Treasurer *Steiger* wrote a Letter to the Bailiff of *Vevay*, in which he desired him to persuade us to remove our Quarters either to *Yverden*, *Lausanna*, or some other Place that was near the Center of their Excellencies Territories, where they might be better able to defend us, than he doubted they could at present, by reason of the Advantages that the Situation of the Lake afforded to our Enemies, who, he said, might come by Water from *Savoy*, or *Verfoy* a Place belonging to the *French*, to the foot of our Garden-Wall without fear of Surprize or Discovery ; assuring him, that having been the first Adviser of our

Settlement at *Vevay*, if any Ill should happen to us whilst we continued in that Place, he should account himself the most unhappy Man in the World. The Bailiff having communicated this Letter to me, I answered, That our Company was extreamly obliged to Mr. Treasurer *Steiger* for the Care he expressed to be upon him for our Safety; but that our Disease being intirely Personal and not at all Local, we should, in my Opinion, be so far from mending upon the change of Air, that I feared we should render our Condition worse, by going to a Place where we were not known, and putting our selves under the necessity of making new Friends, which by the Favour and Goodness of the Magistrates and People we had already acquir'd at *Vevay*; that therefore we should willingly acquit Mr. Treasurer and all our Friends from the Blame of whatever might befall us, and take the Consequences of our stay upon our Selves. With these and other Reasons the Bailiff, and by his means the rest of our Friends were so well satisfied, that we heard no more from them on that account.

About this time I received a Letter from one Monsieur *De la Fleschere*, a near Relation of that Monsieur *Du Pre* who was one of the Twelve that came to assassinate us at *Vevay*, in which he declared his Detestation of that Villany, and promised to inform me from time to time of what he should learn of their Designs;

Designs ; acquainting me of their Intentions to attack us in our way to the Church which was without the Town, and therefore advising that I should go seldom thither , and never without Company and well armed. He counsell'd us by all means to keep together, and not to separate as he was informed we intended to do, and that we should continue in the Place where we were, because the Lake was a great Impediment to our Enemies Designs, who, he said, assured themselves of Success in their Enterprize, if we should go to *Yverden* , *Lausanna* , or any other Place, from whence they might make their Escape on Horseback.

Divers other Advertisements of Designs against us coming to our Hands about the same time, most of them naming me to be the Person, against whom the Malice was principally directed, and insinuating, that the rest of our Company were brought into hazard chiefly on my account, Mr. *Lisle* either really was, or pretended to be so alarum'd, that he withdrew himself from us and went to *Lausanna*, under colour, that expecting a Visit from his Lady in the Month of *May* next ensuing, he was unwilling she should come to *Neuchâtel* , lest it should prove prejudicial to her after her return to *England*. Before he left us, he made his Will, and took leave of the Magistrates, and of all his Friends in the Town in a solemn manner. At our parting, I took

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liberty to desire him to take the best care he could of himself, and not to be too confident of his Security, upon supposition that I was the only Person mark'd out for Destruction ; since he well knew, that at a Consult held by our Enemies at *Chatillon*, they had inquired after him as well as my self : I adjur'd him therefore to be upon his guard, lest presuming too much upon Safety, he might betray himself into their Hands.

Soon after the departure of Mr. *Lisle*, I received advice by the means of Monsieur *de la Fleschere*, that *du Pose* and *Cerise* of *Lyons*, with one *St. Du*, had been at *Tunno*, a Place lying upon the Lake, to confer with *du Pre*, *de la Broette* and *du Fargis*, about resuming their former Design, and that they had passed most part of the night in the Wood of *Courent*, where it had been at last resolved, That they would come no more to *Vevay* by the way of the Lake ; but that the next Attempt should be made by a smaller number of Persons on foot, with Horses kept ready to receive them, and to carry them off either by the way of *Chillion*, *St. Dennis*, or *Lausanna* ; of all which I gave notice to Mr. *Lisle*, who with others of our Friends and Countrymen was then at *Lausanna*.

About eight Days after, one Monsieur *du Moulin* of *Vevay*, going towards *Lausanna*, discovered in a Lane not far from the Lake on the way of *Safron*, three Persons well mount-
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ed and armed, with one on foot, and thinking them to have no good Design, he sent a Servant to observe them, who upon his return confirming him in his Suspicion, Monsieur *du Moulin* dismounted, and taking up the foot of his Horse to induce them to believe he only wanted a Shooe, he returned immediately to *Vevay*. But they suspecting themselves to be discovered, and that he was returned to give us notice, as indeed he was, made so much haste away, that before the People of the Town could reach the Place where they had been seen, they were arrived at *Safron*; and having a Boat, which had brought them in the Morning from *Savoy*, lying ready to receive them, they by that means made their escape. They had sent two Persons on foot into the Town to assassinate me by stabbing or shooting, and these Horsemen were to have carried them off, as we afterwards understood: But that the Town being raised by the Information of Monsieur *du Moulin*, they also had thought convenient to shift for themselves.

On the 21st of *July* 1664. we were informed, That some *Savoyards* had landed in the Harbour of *Ouches* belonging to *Lausanna*, and had let fall some Words of a Design against the English there. Upon which some of their Friends having notice, went to the Burgomaster in order to procure his Warrant to seize and bring them to be examined before

him. But the Burgomaster refusing to do any thing in the Matter without the advice of the Bailiff, they went to the Castle ; where, finding the Bridge drawn up, they thought not fit to trouble him that Night. The next Morning they went again to the Castle, and having acquainted the Bailiff with what they had heard, he presently granted his Warrant, and order'd the Fiscal to summon the *Savoyards* before him. But they having notice of what was doing, got into their Boat and were put off, before the Warrant could be served upon them. Yet it was supposed, that if the Town-boats had been order'd to pursue them, they might easily have seized and brought them in ; for they were within Musket-shot of the Shore when the Officer came to the Port with the Warrant, the Lake very rough, and the Wind directly in their Teeth. However I must not omit, that these Villains had been seen to stand by the Door of the Church, where Mr. *Lisle* used to go, all the time the People were going in to the Sermon ; but neither he nor any of our Countrymen coming to the Church that Morning, they departed in a Rage, one of them saying, *Le B. gre ne viendra pas* ; which Words tho' they were not observed at the time, yet were afterwards too well understood.

Mr. *Lisle* having received Advice from the Lieutenant Balival that a certain Frenchman, who used to engrave upon Seals and Dishes

at *Vevay*, *Lausanna*, and other Places, had informed these *Savoyards* of the way they should take for the execution of their wicked Design, procured an Officer of Justice to demand him at his Lodging in *Lausanna*; where being informed that he was gone to *Vevay*, a Message was dispatch'd to me, that I might cause him to be seized. Accordingly the Bailiff, at my Request, granted a Warrant for taking him in Custody. But he having heard how things had pass'd at *Lausanna*, and supposing the Alarm to be over, was returned thither. Of which the Government of that Town having advice, they caused him to be seized and carried before the Burgomaster, who after a slight Examination, contented himself with banishing him from their Jurisdiction. And now Mr. *Lisle* began to think that he had not much better provided for his Security by abandoning *Vevay*.

On the *Wednesday* of the same Week, two Men in the Habit of Grooms mounted upon good Horses came to lodge at an Inn in *Vevay*; of which our Landlord having received notice, (according to an Order of the Bailiff and Chatelain formerly signified to all Inn-keepers) he went to the House where they were, and upon Examination was assured by them, that they belonged to a *German* Count who was then at the Bathes in the *Pais des Valles*; that they were by his Order come to this Place to wait his return, and that they had already
sent

sent a Messenger to acquaint him with their arrival. Being not able to draw any more from them, he came home, and having acquainted me with what had pass'd, earnestly desired that I would be upon my guard. In the mean time these pretended Grooms continued at *Vevay* till the *Thursday* in the following Week, when one coming from the Bathes before-mentioned, assured, That no such Person, as these Fellows described, had been there; which added to a threatening Message sent by our Landlord to the Innkeeper for entertaining such Rogues, they hastned away and went to *Lausanna*.

On *Thursday* the 11th of *August*, 1664. one Monsieur *Longeon* of *Lausanna*, brought me the sad News, That Mr. *Lisle* going that Morning to hear the Sermon in the Church that stood near the Town-gate, was shot dead by a Person on foot, who had a Companion waiting for him on Horseback with a led Horse in his Hand, which the Murderer having mounted and cried *Vive le Roy*, they immediately rode away together towards *Morges*. Soon after this barbarous Murder was committed, we understood from *Lausanna* by the description of the Persons, their Clothes and Horses, that they were the same that had lodged at *Vevay*. They had continued for a Week in *Lausanna* before they found an opportunity to put in execution their detestable Plot, and had carried themselves with such

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Indiscretion, that divers Persons suspected them to have a Design against the English; of which Mr. *Lisle* being informed, he sent his Landlord twice to try what he could draw from them. But they had so well contrived their Story, that he could find no colour to remove them. Many Persons upon suspicion of these Fellows had desired Mr. *Lisle* to be upon his guard, and to forbear going to the Church he used; because it lay so near the Town-gate, that if any Persons should make an Attempt against him, they might with little difficulty escape by that way. Our Countrymen also who were with him performed the same Office; but he would by no means hearken to their Advice, saying he was in the Hands of God, and had committed himself intirely to his Protection; adding to this Answer, that my Life was his Defence, and that 'till our Enemies had dispatched me, he assured himself they would not think of him. The Villain that murdered him had waited his coming at a Barber's Shop, where he pretended to want something for his Teeth, till seeing Mr. *Lisle* at distance he stepped out of the Shop, and as he came by, saluted him. Then following him into the Church-yard, he drew a Carabine from under his Cloak, and shot him into the Back. With the recoil of the Piece the Villain's Hat was beaten off, and he himself falling over a piece of Timber, dropp'd his Gun, which he left behind him,
and

and as soon as he had recovered himself, running to his Companion who held the led Horse, he mounted and made his escape. Thus died *John Lisle*, Esq; Son to Sir *William Lisle* of the Isle of *Wight*, a Member of the Great Parliament, one of the Council of State, Commissioner of the Great Seal, and one of the Assistants to the Lord President, in the High Court of Justice that was erected for the Trial of the late King. The Government of *Lausanna* was so remiss in the pursuit of the Assassins, that it was suspected they had some Friends among them. And of this the Villains themselves seemed to give proof; for before they had advanced half a League on their way, calling to some Men who were working in the Vineyards, they bid them give their Service to the Governors of *Lausanna*, and tell them they would drink their Healths. But the common People openly cried out against the Burgomaster, and accused him of having favoured the Assassins. And that I may do Justice to the Bailiff of *Lausanna*, who had been absent for some time from the Town upon publick Business, I must not omit, that, when he heard of the Assassination of Mr. *Lisle*, he said, That if he had been at *Lausanna*, those Villains should not have continued so long there without Interruption.

Upon this we received a great number of Letters from our Friends in several Parts, to inform us of the rage of our Enemies, and of
their

their Resolution to leave no means of destroying us unattempted, some of them having affirmed, That if they could not accomplish their Design either by Stabbing, Poisoning or Shooting, they were resolved to attempt us even in our Lodgings. These Advices, together with the death of Mr. *Lisle*, so alarm'd my Companions at *Vevay*, that I found it difficult to bring them to any certain Resolution, every one making a different Proposition touching the way we should take to provide for our Safety; tho' for my own part I thought nothing so rational, as to fortify our Interest in that Place, where the Magistrates and People had been always more ready to oblige and serve us, than we could be to ask any Favour from them. To this end, with the Concurrence of my Country-men, which I at last obtained, I went to Monsieur *Geoffray*, who was then Chatelain and Deputy-Bailiff of *Vevay*, acquainting him with the Letters we had lately received, and he readily offering to do whatever should be in his Power for our Service, I propos'd, That, considering the Design of our Enemies was either to surprize us, as they had done in relation to Mr. *Lisle*; or, (all other Means failing) to attempt us by open Violence; for prevention of both, Orders might be issued out to the Town of *Vevay*, and to the other Towns and Villages of that Jurisdiction, to seize and examine such Persons as they should find cause to suspect; and
that

that upon the found of the great Bell at *Vevay*, upon the firing of a great Gun, or the view of a Fire upon any of the Towers of the said Place, they should take Arms, secure the Passes, and seize all unknown Persons in order to carry them before the Bailiff; and that if these Signals should happen to be given in the Night, they should be appointed to repair with their Arms to our Lodgings at *Vevay*, to receive such Orders as should be necessary. The Chatelain approved the Proposition, and desir'd, That such an Order might be prepared, promising he would send it to the Bailiff to be signed; which being drawn up and sent to the Castle of *Chillion*, the Bailiff most readily signed four Orders of the same Tenour, and directed them to *Vevay*, *Moutre*, the *Tower* and *Bloney*, with Injunction that they should be published two several times in the Market-places, and before the Churches of the said Places, that none might pretend cause of Ignorance. This worthy Person, as he had done us great Honour upon all Occasions, so at this time finding us to be extraordinarily persecuted, he resolved to shew us more than ordinary Marks of his Favour; and therefore when he came to Town, accompanied by the Baron de *Chatteler* and Monsieur *l'Hospitalier* of *Villa Nova*, he was pleased to make us a Visit, and to honour us with his Company at Dinner, expressing his abhorrence of the Baseness and Treachery of our Enemies, and assuring

furing us of his Friendship and Services to the utmost of his Power.

But Mr. *Say*, notwithstanding these Assurances and the Care he saw taken by our Friends for our preservation, would by no means be persuaded to think himself safe whilst he continued in these Quarters, where we were all so publickly known, and therefore resolved to retire to some Place where he might be *incognito*; and to that end, accompanied by Colonel *Bisco*, prepared to depart for *Germany*, earnestly pressing me to the same Resolution, and professing himself to be as much concerned for my Safety as for his own. I gave him my Thanks for his Friendship; but acquainted him that I thought it much better to be in a condition of making opposition against my Enemies, than to live in the perpetual Fear of being discovered; with which being satisfied, he took leave, after he had assured me that if we should continue at *Vevay* till the next Spring he would make us a Visit.

The Court of *England* being informed of the Assassination of Mr. *Lisle*, that King procured one Dr. *Colladon*, a Native of *Geneva* then residing at *London*, to write to one of his Relations in these Parts for a particular Information of that Action, and to inquire of the same Person if I continued still at *Vevay*, or had removed to *Zurich*, as was reported; which Particulars being too well known to him,

him, to need any such Information, it may be justly conjectured, that this Message was sent to no other end, than to feel the Pulse of the Gentleman, that by his Answer he might know, whether he were a fit Person to be employ'd in his honourable Designs. Upon the reception of this Letter, the Person to whom it was directed, being a Man of Probity and Honour, not only gave Advice to our Friends of the Contents, but protested that if he had a thousand Lives, he would lose them all, before he would do us the least Injury, utterly refusing to give any Information touching the Things that were demanded. Monsieur *de la Fleschere* also was pleased to continue his Care of our Safety, advising us, That his Kinsman Monsieur *du Pre*, accompanied by *du Broetti*, and *du Fargis*, had lately given a meeting at *Trivan* to one of the Duke of *Savoy's* Guard who used to come into our Parts; and that a certain Frenchman living at the same Place, was also suspected to be of their Gang. He added, That tho' he had received a thousand Assurances from *du Pre* that he would never make any farther Attempt against us, yet he would not believe him, much less would desire us to rely upon his Word, but rather that we should be constantly upon our Guard, especially in consideration of what had lately happened to our Countryman at *Lausanna*.

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This was the last Message we received from Monsieur *de la Fleschere*, who without any Obligation laid upon him on our part, from the Motives of Humanity and true Goodness, had been so generously serviceable to Persons he never saw. For many days had not pass'd, before we were informed, that a Difference arising between this Gentleman and *Du Pre*, whose Sister he had married, a certain Gentlewoman of *Tunno*, with whom *Du Pre* was too familiarly acquainted, undertook to make up the Dispute; to which Monsieur *de la Fleschere* consenting, and coming to her House for that purpose, was there shot into the Body by *Du Pre*, and afterwards dispatch'd with a Stiletto. But this not being done without Noise, divers Persons came about the Door to enquire what was doing; to whom the Gentlewoman answering, That there had been no other Disturbance in the House, than what had been made by some Children, they presently departed. Night being come, *Du Pre* went out; and after a short stay, brought two Country-men with him, and compelled them to take up the Body, and to lay it at the Door of an infamous House in the same Town, threatening to kill them if they disputed his Commands, or should afterwards reveal the Secret. And that it might be believed that his Brother-in-Law had been so used for endeavouring to effect some bad Design, *Du Pre* went after

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them to the Place where they laid the Body, and firing a Pistol, left that and a Sword upon the Ground by him: This Hypocrite seemed to be much concerned for his Death, and in deep Mourning accompanied him to the Grave; protesting to his Sister, that he would willingly expend a great Sum of Money to find out the Murderer. Yet this Mask was soon taken off; for the Parliament of *Chambery* in *Savoy*, having been informed of this Murder, and deputed some of their Number to make Inquiry into the Matter, they, by the Depositions they received, suspecting *Du Pre* to have been the Author, sent to seize him; but he having notice of their Intentions, had made his Escape before the Officers could reach the House where he was.

In *England*, the Presbyterians had been long before ejected from all the Benefices they possess'd, and rewarded in the current Money of those, for whose sake they had betray'd their Friends: The Prisons had been frequently fill'd with all sorts of Men dissenting from the Church, establish'd by the Act of Uniformity: The People had been exhausted by frequent and excessive Taxes to supply the Luxury of the Court: Great numbers of the Officers of the old Army had under false or frivolous Pretences been imprison'd or executed: Many of the Irish Rebels had been restored to the Lands that had been settled upon the English for the Reward of their Services

vices and Blood: Plots had been contrived to furnish the Court with a Pretence to Transport those they feared, to remote and barbarous Confinements; and the design of subverting the Rights and Liberties of the Nation, was become manifest.

In this Posture of Affairs, the Court of *England* thought fit to declare War against the States-General of the United Provinces; by means of which, some of our Friends conceiving great Hopes of the Restitution of the Common-wealth, enter'd into a Treaty with divers Principal Ministers of that Country, for procuring some Forces to join with our oppressed Party in *England*, against the Common Enemy. Having received Information of this Treaty, and being pressed by a Person of Honour and Integrity to declare my Concurrence in the thing, I acquainted him, That tho' I should be ready to embrace any good Occasion of serving the Common-wealth, and relieving my Country from Oppression; and that I had no great Reason to be a Friend to the present Establishment, yet the Treachery of the Dutch, in delivering our three Friends into the Hands of their Enemies, made me fear the same Treatment from them in case of an Accommodation with *England*. For if they had purchased their former Agreement with the Price of that Blood, I could see no Reason to persuade me that they would not purchase another with ours: I told him, That

all Men knew they preferr'd the Profits of Trade before any other thing in the World ; and how dangerous it might prove to engage with ſuch a ſort of Men, I left to his Judgment to determine ; that being convinced in Conſcience, that they had contracted the guilt of the Blood of our Friends upon themſelves, my Duty would not permit me to act in conjunction with them, till they ſhould make Satisfaction for that Injuſtice: However, I offer'd that if they might be brought to diſown that Action, as done by the influence of a particular Faction, and promiſe, at a more convenient time, to Punish the immediate Authors, I would freely hazard my Life in the Expedition.

In the mean time I received a Letter from Mr. Say, who was then at *Amſterdam* ; in which, among other things, I found theſe Expreſſions ;

“ Believe me, Sir, things are ſo well prepared here to answer the good Ends we all
 “ deſire, that nothing ſeems to be wanting
 “ but Hands to ſet the Wheels going. Invitations and Incouragements are not only
 “ offered, but preſſed upon You ; and there
 “ is no ground to fear their Retreat, of which
 “ You ſeem to doubt. The ruin of the preſent Government in *England* is certainly intended, and I have cauſe to believe will be
 “ effected ; the States being unanimouſly for
 “ this

“ this War, and at last brought to see that
 “ their Common-wealth cannot long subsist,
 “ if Monarchy continue in *England*. Of this
 “ they will soon give the clearest Evidence,
 “ as well as of their Resolution to assist the
 “ Common-wealth Interest as far as shall be
 “ desired; in which they seem to be no less
 “ Zealous, than how to defend themselves.
 “ As to the Usage our three Friends met with
 “ in this Country, I have examined the Par-
 “ ticulars, and find the thing to have passed
 “ in a different manner than has been repre-
 “ sented: They are able here to give You
 “ or any Person Satisfaction, that the matter
 “ does not lie so foul upon them, as is gene-
 “ rally conceived; and would, if it might be
 “ any way conducing to the Advantage of
 “ our Affairs, set that Business in its true
 “ Light. But this is not thought advisable
 “ at present by many of our Friends, who
 “ think such a Course may too much alarum
 “ the Court of *England*, and put them upon
 “ Measures of procuring Peace at any rate.
 “ The King of *England* is never mentioned
 “ without the utmost Contempt, and Writ-
 “ ings every day published to expose his Per-
 “ son and Government. You may propose
 “ what You please for your Safety, and I
 “ dare answer it shall be granted: Only I
 “ must take leave to tell You that the most
 “ private manner of Treating is best appro-
 “ ved by our Friends. The Offers they make

“ here are very great, and yet no Promises
 “ exacted from Us for their Security. There-
 “ fore I beg of You to think of seeing this
 “ place, and quitting the Quarters where
 “ You are, that You may be instrumental in
 “ the Service of Your Country at this time.
 “ I am certainly informed, That considerable
 “ numbers in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*,
 “ sensible of their present Servitude, will ap-
 “ pear for Us; and such measures will be
 “ taken here for their assistance, that I have
 “ great hopes of Success. Nothing seems
 “ now so much wanting as fixed Councils
 “ both here and in *England*, and no One can
 “ be more serviceable than Your Self in this
 “ important Matter: I beseech You therefore
 “ let Us have Your help, for we cannot be
 “ without it, and I am perswaded the Work
 “ will prosper in Our Hands. Make all the
 “ Expedition You can in Your Journey; for
 “ tho’ this be not the conjuncture of Action,
 “ yet I am perswaded ’tis high time to be
 “ preparing, and ’twill be to Our Shame if
 “ we neglect it.

About Eight Days after this, I received
 another from the same Person; in which,
 having desired me to give credit to the Con-
 tents of his last, he added, That the *Heer*
Nieuport had at a Conference assured him,
 That the Intentions of the Government of
Holland were to relieve the good People in
England;

England; and that he should be glad of any Overtures to that purpose from me or any other Persons; That there was more in the design of this War than was commonly understood, and that the destruction of the whole Protestant Party was intended: That some of the most eminent of that Religion in *France*, had sent Messengers into *Holland* to give information of this Matter; advising, That the States would make the best preparations they could for their defence, and assuring, That if they should be born down in this War, the Reformed Religion would soon be extinguished in *France*: That the *Dutch* had Thirty Thousand Men ready to put on Board their Fleet, of which number Ten Thousand were Land Soldiers, and to be disposed as we should advise and direct: That a great Sum of Mony was prepared for this Service, and that the whole Fleet should be commanded to favour Our Enterprize: That if it should be thought necessary to transport Horse into *England*, the States would willingly comply in that also, having resolved to endeavour a perfect Friendship with the good People of *England*, which, he said, he hoped should never be broken. At the bottom of the Letter were these Words, I beg of you to lay aside all former Prejudices, and as you love the Cause in which you have ingaged, come speedily, and set your Heart and Hand to this Work. I can certainly assure you, That the most

considerable Minister of this State, has lately very much inquired for you, and having received some account of you, has given us reason to hope, That if you will come to them in this conjuncture, they will place you at the head of such a number of Men, as should by the Blessing of God, and the Concurrence of our Friends in *England*, be sufficient to restore the Common-wealth. I dare assure you from the best information I can get, That on such an Occasion there would be a greater appearance for us, than at the beginning of the late War. Let me therefore not hear from you, but see you.

Tho' these Offers were very advantageous especially to one in my Condition, and the Honour I received more than I could expect, yet these things, I thank God, were no temptation to me. The Cause of my Country which is dearer to me than my Life, was that alone which made me earnestly wish, That I could have perswaded my self to lay hold of this opportunity, and to join with my Friends in this Enterprize for our common Deliverance. But the Reasons before mentioned fate so close upon me; That I was constrained, not without great regret, to acquaint my Friends with my Intentions to persist in my former Resolution, not to enter into a conjunction of Counsels and Interests with the *Dutch*, till they had given satisfaction touching the Business of the three Gentlemen
they

they had so inhumanly delivered into the Hands of our Enemies, together with some reasonable assurances that they would not abandon the Concernments of such as should join with them.

In the mean time, a Person of Honour and Quality of the *English* Nation whom I had never seen, being then at *Paris*, took care to let me know by a third Hand, that the King of *England* suspecting I would join with the *Dutch* against him, had caused the *Assassins* to double their Diligence, and that the Person who had murder'd Mr. *Lisle* was come to *Paris*, accompanied with others of the same Trade, and had undertaken either to carry me off alive, or to dispatch me upon the place. *St. Du*, another of this Tribe, endeavoured also to engage one Monsieur *Torneri*, a Gentleman of *Savoy*, and my Friend, in the Design against me, promising him a great Recompence if it proved successful. He dated his Letter from *Paris*, and desired the Answer to be directed to one at *Lyons*. But Monsieur *Torneri* suspecting him to be nearer to us than he would have it believed, and being desirous to penetrate farther into their Secrets, told him in his Answer that Money was not to be refused; but that I kept my self so much upon my Guard, that nothing could be attempted without previous Consultation. This Gentleman did me the favour to give me a sight of the Letter and
Answer,

Answer, with assurances of his Service, and a promise to send me St. *Du's* Reply as soon as it should come to his Hands. He informed me also that *Du Pre* had been degraded, and broken on the Wheel *in Effigie*; for the Murder of Monsieur *de la Fleschere*; that his Estate in *Savoy* had been confiscated, and that he was fled for protection to the Town of *Friburg*, and that he was countenanced by the Magistrates of that Place. These things made me resolve upon withdrawing from my Lodgings at *Vevay*, and lying privately for some time, that my Enemies might be amused, and uncertain how to lay their Designs; which having done, it produced the effect I desired. For no sooner had I withdrawn my self from the publick View, but it was generally concluded that I was gone for *Holland*, which I conjecture might put a stop to the Designs against me for that time, and rendred my Country-men at *Vevay* more safe and undisturb'd than they had formerly been.

During this retirement, I received Letters from my Friends in *England*, with Advice that four Persons had been dispatch'd by the King for our Parts with the accustomed Instructions; but hearing no more concerning them, I concluded they were either the Villains of whom I was already informed from *Paris*, or part of those who had been sent to *Ausburg*, with Orders from the same Hands to Assassinate Colonel *Algernon Sidney*; and
probably

probably being Ten in number might have effected their Design, if having undertaken a Journey to *Holland* upon Business relating to the Publick, he had not removed from that Place before their Arrival. After I had continued about six Weeks privately with my Friends at *Lausanna*, I returned to my Quarters at *Vevay*, and had not been there above eight or ten days, before a *French*-man, well furnished with Mony, and Arms, came to one Monsieur *Du Fort*, a Merchant of *Vevay*, with a Letter Unsealed from a Trader of *Geneva*, who was little known to him, which contained an Account, That the Person who should bring him that Letter, having been prosecuted in *France*, for getting a Wench with Child, had desired to be known to some Persons in this Place, which he had chosen for his Retreat. Tho' such a Recommendation had been sufficient to have caused him to be Whipp'd out of the Town; yet other things contributed chiefly to his Removal. For it had been observed that he had acknowledged he came lately from *England*, and seemed to be well informed of the Affairs of that Court; that he was no less instructed of all the Circumstances of the Assassination of Mr. *Lisle*; that he intruded into all Companies, and had endeavoured to Lodge in several Houses that stood most convenient to discover our usual Walks; that he had expressed his Discontent, that no one would entertain him

without

without the permission of the Council, and had offered to pay double at certain Places for a Lodging. To this was added, That on a Market-day, having dressed himself in the Habit of a Buffoon, with a Basket on his Back, and Wooden Shoes on his Feet, he bought many things that were to be sold at much more than the value, and gave them to the meanest of the People, drawing by that means many idle Persons after him. Upon Consideration of these things, the Chatelain, by Order of the Bailiff, went attended with his Officers to the Inn where he Lodged, and upon Examination, finding him unwilling to tell his Name, or Business in this Place, he acquainted him, That by reason of divers Attempts that had been made against the *English* Gentlemen, who had been taken by their Excellencies into Protection, it had been resolved that no Stranger should remain at *Vevay*, without giving a good account of himself; which he having not done, had incurred the Consequence, and therefore must resolve to depart within the space of Twenty four Hours. He was much disturbed whilst the Chatelain was present; but having recovered his Spirits by drinking Brandy after his departure, he hired a Boat for *Villa Nova*, pretending to go directly for *Milan*, but we were informed afterwards, that from *Villa Nova*, he turned short to *Savoy*, and by the way of *Lyons* went to *Paris*.

Some

Some Publick Business requiring the presence of Mr. Treasurer *Steiger* at *Vevay*, he came accompanied by Monsieur *Lentulus*, late Bailiff of *Lausanna*, Commissary General *Godart*, and another Person of the Senat of *Bern*; and having dispatch'd his Affairs, did us the Honour to make us a Visit, in which having expressed great Kindness and Friendship, he informed us, That *Du Pre* had procured the Magistrates of *Friburg* to give instructions to Colonel *Pharamond*, and their other Deputies then at *Bern*, to solicit their Lordships for the Restitution of his Lands; but that the Council was so far from doing as he desired, that they forthwith caused the Advoyer to issue out an Order to seize his Person if he should come within the Territories of their Jurisdiction, and to send new Instructions to the Bailiff of *Morges*, for receiving his Rents, and employing them in Publick Uses; directing the said Treasurer *Steiger* to give the Deputies an account of their Proceedings; which when he had done, and acquainted them with the Attempt *Du Pre* had made to Assassinate us, together with the Murder he had committed upon the Person of his Brother-in-Law, and many other Villanies of which he had been guilty, the Colonel said, That he had not heard any thing of these Matters before; and desiring to be excused, promised never to open his Mouth more in his behalf. The next Day we returned the Visit we had received

ceived from the Treasurer and his Company, and were most affectionately received, all of them expressing themselves with the utmost Friendship, and assuring us of the care and favour of the Government.

Of this we had in a short time the most evident Demonstration; for their Excellencies of *Bern* having received information that *Du Pre* designed to take a Journey to a Place in *Burgundy*, called *Joigny*, they sent out two Parties to lie upon the way; one of which meeting with him, and commanding him in their Lordships Name to surrender himself, he at first made some resistance: But finding that way too hazardous, he clapp'd Spurs to his Horse, and when he was at some distance from the Guard, endeavouring to leap a deep and broad Ditch, he fell with his Horse into the middle of it. Some People who were carrying in the Harvest, seeing him in Distress, and not knowing that he was pursued by Publick Authority, hastned to his Relief. But he being conscious of his own Crimes, and therefore suspecting all Men to be his Enemies, fired one of his Pistols upon them, which provoked the Country-men to entertain him with Stones, till the Officers came up, and seized him. They found a Case of Pistols at his Saddle, another pair at his Girdle, and a Carabine hanging by his side. In his Pocket was a Letter directed to him without any Name subscribed, containing in substance,

That

That he should inform himself where the great Whale or the little old Fish might be found; and give notice if any Publick Honours had been done to the memory of the *English* Gentleman who was kill'd at *Lausanna*. The rest of his Papers and Letters he had torn in pieces before he could be taken; but upon putting them together in the best manner that was possible, it appeared, That most of them had relation to the same Subject, and were full of malicious Expressions against the Government of *Bern*. He was carried to the House of one Monsieur *De la Berchere*, a Gentleman living near the Place where he was seized, and being kept there all Night, he was the next Day brought Prisoner to *Yverden*, and committed to the Castle.

Their Excellencies having received information of the Seizing and Imprisonment of *Du Pre*, dispatch'd Orders to their Officers at *Vevay*, to examin all Persons upon Oath who might know any thing concerning the Attempt made against us, in which he had been a Principal Actor; and to transmit to them the Examination and Confession of the Waterman which had been taken by the Bailiff at the Castle of *Chillion*. Whilst the Evidence was preparing against him, great interest was made to their Lordships of *Bern* for their Favour to the Prisoner. But meeting with cold Reception from them, they applied themselves to those of *Yverden*, who were to give
the

the first Judgment in the Case. His Mother being admitted to speak with him in presence of the Guard, told him, That certain Fathers Capuchins would remember him in their Prayers. But he had another Game to play ; and having already promised to quit the Romish Superstition, and to Educate his Son in the Reformed Religion, if by that means he might save his Life, answered, That he owned no such Persons to be his Fathers ; that he needed not their Prayers, and that they might have enough to do if they would pray for themselves. By these and other Artifices that were used by himself and his Friends, the Officers of Justice at *Tverden*, were persuaded to Sentence him only to be banished, and to pay the Fine of One Hundred Pounds ; But four of the Twelve who were his Judges Dissented from the rest, and not only Voted him worthy of Death, but Signed a Paper to that purpose, and presented it in their own Persons to their Excellencies, that they might acquit themselves from the Blame of this Proceeding. When the Judgment was presented to the Lords of *Bern* for their Approbation, they esteemed it to intrench upon their Sovereignty ; in that an inferior Jurisdiction had taken upon them not only to moderate the Punishment, but also to ascertain the Fine. His Mother, and divers other Persons who had accompanied the Sentence to *Bern*, most earnestly solicited to get it confirm'd ; but be-
cause

cause Mr. Treasurer *Steiger* was to go to *Friburg* the next Day about some Publick Affairs, the Consideration of this Business was deferr'd for seven or eight Days. At which time the Treasurer being returned, the Cause was heard before their Excellencies; and after mature Deliberation, *Du Pre* was condemned to lose his Head on the next ensuing *Monday*. The principal Crimes objected against him were, That he had stolen and ravished the Person he had since Married, who was Born, and resided within the Jurisdiction of *Bern*; and that he had made an Attempt to Assassinate one or more of the *English* Gentlemen that were protected by their Excellencies. He denied that he had taken his Wife away in a violent manner, or that he designed to take away the Life of any other *English*-man except me. He said also, That having resolved to use him thus, they might have acquainted him sooner with their Intentions, and not have encouraged him to such a mis-pending of his time as they had done. And indeed, tho' this could not justly be objected to their Excellencies, who designed no more than that he might be civilly entertain'd till the time of his Trial, yet divers of the Magistrates of *Tverden*, can by no means be excused, who drank and plaid at Cards with him in the Prison. The Day appointed for his Execution being come, he was brought down; but the Terrors of Death, with the dismal Reflections

N

upon

upon his past Life, seized upon him to such a degree, that he fell into a Rage, throwing himself on the Ground, biting and kicking those that stood near, and asking if there were no hopes of Pardon. He was told that he ought to remember, That if he had been taken in his own Country where he had Murder'd his Brother-in-Law, and had been broken *in Effigie* on the Wheel, he should not have been used so gently. He refused to go to the place of Execution any otherwise than by force; so that about two Hours were spent before he arrived at the place where he was to Dye, tho' it was within Musket-shot of the Prison. Here the Executioner put a Cap on his Head, and placed a Chair that he might sit; but he took off the Cap and threw it away, and kick'd down the Chair among the People. When the Executioner saw this he tied his Hands between his Knees, and having assured him, That if he persisted in his Resistance, he would cut him into forty pieces, after about an Hours Contest, he at last performed his Office.

Soon after this, Mr. Treasurer *Steiger* accompanied by our Bailiff and some Gentlemen of *Bern*, was pleased to make us a Publick Visit, leaving the Officers that attended him, who were Fifteen or Sixteen in number at our Gate, to the end as he informed us, That the People observing the Consideration and Favour we received, might be quicken'd in
their

their Duty upon any occasion that might happen. He gave us an account of the Proceedings against *Du Pre*, and informed us, That when the Watermen of *Morges* had carried his Mother back to *Tunno*, and those of that Place had taken the liberty to censure the Justice of *Bern*; *Madam de la Fleschere*, the Widow of our good Friend and Sister to *Du Pre*, coming to meet her Mother at the Water side, had presently silenc'd them, and openly said, That tho' he was her Brother, yet she acknowledged their Excellencies had done nothing in relation to him but that which was most just. In this Conversation he informed us also, That being in *Italy* in the Year 1643. when the War between the late King and the Parliament was, as he expressed it, most inflamed, he had there seen a Bull from the Pope, for encouraging all good Catholics to take Arms for the King against the Parliament, promising that those who should lose their Lives on his side in that Quarrel, should go forthwith to Heaven. Which is so plain that it needs no Comment.

By this time, my Friends in *Holland* began to think they had been deluded with vain hopes from that People; but being unwilling to take the Shame of their Credulity upon themselves, they resolved to lay the Blame upon me; alledging, That those of the States who had treated with them, having inquired why I was not come to *Holland*, and receiv-

ing no satisfactory Answer, had concluded we were not agreed among our selves, and on that account would not proceed to finish the Treaty. Whereas indeed the true Reason was, That they were still in hopes of patching up a Peace with *England*, or if that should fail, they promised themselves the Assistance of *France*, whose Interest seemed to be very different from ours. Accordingly the King of *France* being solicited by the *Dutch* to make good the last Treaty with that State, and finding he could not procure a Peace for them, withdrew his Ambassador from *London*, and declared War against *England*: Soon after which a Declaration of War was also published in *London* against the *French* King, and entertained by the People with great Joy, the Mayor and Aldermen attending on the Proclamation in their Habits of Ceremony.

On occasion of this War, one Monsieur *Stuppa*, a Native of the *Grisons*, formerly a Minister, and at that time an Officer in the *French* Service, was sent into his own Country to raise Men; and having performed his Commission, resolved to pass by *Vevay* in his return to *Paris*. Being come to this Place, he procured some of my Friends to desire me to give him a meeting, to which I consented. After some general Discourse upon the present Conjuncture, he acquainted me, That tho' he had no express Orders either from *France* or *Holland* to make any proposition to me; yet
he

he acknowledged, That the *Dutch* Ambassador then residing at *Paris*, had so far opened himself, as to tell him, That his Masters designing nothing more in this War than to secure themselves from such double Dealing as they had met with from the *English* Court; and their Quarrel not being against the People, but only against the King of *England*, he hoped I might be brought to Act in Conjunction with them for the good of my own Country. Then he proceeded to ask what grounds there might be to hope that the Commonwealth Party, with a moderate number of Forces to join with them, would be able to carry their Point, professing himself to be as well in Judgment as Interest disposed to wish them well: And on this Head we went over many Particulars, tho' I durst not be so free with him as was requisite to a full clearing of such Matters. Some Days after this, we had another Conference, in which by the perswasion of a particular Friend, I acquainted him, That if any just and honourable way should be proposed for the restitution of the Republick in *England*, I would readily use the best of my Endeavours, and hazard my Life in that Service. He seemed well satisfied with this Answer; and having assured me that a great sum of Mony would be advanced to give Life to the interest of our Friends, and to assist them in their preparations for Action, we agreed on a way of Correspondence, and so parted,

The next Morning, one Mr. *Constance* came to me from the Count of *Donnagh*, with a Message to desire me to meet him privately at *Lausanna*, which I promised to do the more willingly, because the said Count had lately given Proof of his Kindness to us, by sending me Advice, That his Ladies Father passing through *Chatillion*, (the principal Place of our Enemies Rendezvous) had been certainly informed, That those who had Murder'd Mr. *Lisle*, were come again into these Parts with intentions to Assassinate us; and more particularly me, assuring, That I might give credit to the thing, because it had been imparted to his Father-in-Law, on supposition that he approved the Design. The Gentleman informed me also, That the Count had a Commission from the States of *Holland* to raise Three Thousand Men in these Parts; that the Heer *John de Witte* had advised him to see me, and that he hoped the Levies he was to make, might be employ'd for the restitution of the Common-wealth in *England*. To which I answered, as I had done before to Monsieur *Stuppa*, that I was always ready to lay down my Life in so good a Cause.

Few Days after this, I received a Letter from *Holland* to inform me, That our Friends were entring into new Measures, and that the Heer *John de Witte*, together with the Heer *Nieuport*, and others who seemed most Affectionate to us, had advised, That for several

Reasons,

Reasons, the Treaty between *Holland* and our Friends might be carried on at *Paris*; that Colonel *Algernon Sidney* and I would repair to *France* for that purpose, where we should be Lodged at the House of the *Dutch* Ambassador, promising that we should have Passports in the best Form, requiring all Magistrates and other Officers in that Kingdom to be serviceable and assisting to us. In the same Packet I had another from *England* to inform me, That the Condition of our Friends there was not Contemptible, and that they thought no Hazards too great to be ventur'd in order to deliver themselves from the Evils they suffer'd, and greater which they had just Cause to fear. They exhorted me therefore to lay aside all Scruples and former Prejudices, and to improve the present favourable Conjunction to the advantage of the Common-wealth. These Letters were accompanied with three more; One from Colonel *Algernon Sidney*, inviting me to give him a meeting at *Basle*, in order to continue our Journey from thence to *Paris*. The other two were written by Mr. *Say*, and Colonel *Bisco*, to press me to engage in this Undertaking, promising, That if I would resolve to go, all the Exiles would not fail to accompany me; and adding, That if I refused, they believed no Man would stir. I found by these Letters that there had been some Heats and Jealousies between Colonel *Sidney* and Mr. *Say*, the former charging Mr.

Say with having privately dissuaded me from engaging in this Enterprize, and Mr. Say accusing Colonel *Sidney* of using all the means he could to discourage me; but to do them Justice, I must needs say, That they both endeavoured to the utmost of their Power to engage me in this Affair.

These things brought me into great Doubts and Difficulties. For on the one hand, if I should neglect the present Offers, and the Design should miscarry, I foresaw that my Friends, who had solicited me to engage, would not fail to attribute the Fault to me, by whatever means the ill Success should happen. On the other side, if I should resolve to enter upon such a Treaty, besides my own want of Ability for the management of so great an Affair, the unsuitableness of my Principles and Circumstances, together with the Aversion I had to treat in *France*, and perhaps with that King's Ministers, who had all along favour'd those bloody Designs which had been contrived against my Life, I could not see how I might come to any Resolution what to offer, demand, promise or perform. Being under this Perplexity, I was attack'd again on the same account by two of our Friends, who made a Journey from *Holland* on purpose to persuade me to take part in this Affair; so that finding my self thus pressed on all Hands, I told them, That the Lord *Sermyn* being lately arrived at *Paris*, with
Orders

Orders from the Court of *England*, to treat of an Accommodation with the King of *France*, in which he would not fail to be powerfully assisted by the Queen-Mother of *England*; this Treaty might take effect, as that of the Bishop of *Munster* with the States had already done; by which means it would certainly fall out, That, tho' we should not be betray'd by the *French*, which I doubted, yet the Lords of *Bern* would no longer think themselves obliged to protect us as they had hitherto done; that if the Levies of *Suiss* Soldiers which the States were about to make, should be designed for *England* as we had been informed, I thought my present Stay in these Parts might be of more use to the Publick, than if I should take the Journey that was proposed; and that for many Reasons I was very unwilling to put my self into the Hands of the King of *France*. Yet that they might see I would go as great a length in this Business as I could, I offer'd, That if the States should think fit to publish a Declaration to acknowledge the Error of delivering up our three Friends; promise to use their Endeavours to restore the Common-wealth to the Exercise of their Authority; furnish such a number of Troops of the Reformed Religion as might be probably sufficient to protect our Friends in coming into them, and oblige themselves not to leave us in a worse condition than we were at that time, I would

heartily

heartily engage in the Enterprize. With this Answer my two Friends returned to *Holland*, and being on their way sent me Word, That the Person who resided for the King of *France* at *Mentz*, and is Brother to his Ambassador at *Ratisbonne*, had been at *Frankfurt* on purpose to meet Colonel *Sidney* and me, supposing we had both been at that place; where in a Conference with the Colonel, he had communicated to him a Letter from Monsieur *de Lyonne* Secretary of State, written in Cypher by the Order of the King of *France*, in which he was commanded to acquaint us, That if we would go to *Paris*, we should have all the Security the Government could give or we could desire for the Safety of our Persons.

The Court of *England* having received some obscure Informations of a Design carried on by the *Dutch* to land some Forces to assist their Enemies at home, published a Proclamation to require Colonel *John Desbrowe*, Colonel *Thomas Kelsey*, Colonel *John White*, Major *John Grove*, Sir *Robert Honywood Junior*, Captain *John Nicholas* of *Monmouth*, and divers other Persons, to return into *England* and to surrender themselves into the Hands of some Justice of the Peace in the County where they should land, before the 23d Day of the next ensuing *July*, on pain of being proceeded against as Traytors. But not being contented with this, they employed a Jesuite to procure
the

the Pensioner *John de Witte* to be murder'd, who not only undertook that Employment, but promised to get me to be assassinated also. Myn Heer *Nieuport*, who had formerly been Ambassador for the States in *England*, sent his Son to Mr. *Say* to acquaint him with this Matter, assuring him that the Jesuite was already come to *Holland*, and that they hoped to seize him ; but lest other Persons might be engaged with him in the Design against me, of whom they had no Information, he desired that I might be forthwith advised of what they had discovered ; which Mr. *Say* punctually performed.

Our Friends began now to perceive the Effects of *Fermyn's* Negotiation, and that the *French* King would rather chuse to procure to himself the management of the Court of *England* at any rate, than either to do an honourable thing for Men in distress, or to give his Allies common Satisfaction in the smallest Things that might disgust his Brother of *England* in this Conjunction. For the *Dutch* Ambassador having demanded that *Te Deum* might be sung in the great Church at *Paris* for the late Victory they had obtained against the English Fleet commanded by *Monk* and Prince *Rupert* ; he refused to permit it for three Reasons. First, On account that they differed in Religion. In the second place, That having had no Forces in the Engagement, he could have no share in the Victory.

And

And Thirdly, That it would be of little advantage to either of the States to triumph over their Enemies. Our Friends had been made to believe that they should have the assistance of *France* in a great Sum of Mony ; but few of them approved of their sending Forces, as was at last proposed, suspecting their Fidelity in case of Success. And I think the Event shew'd that this last Proposition was made by the *French* (who had been lately intriguing with the Court of *England*) in confidence that it would not be accepted.

But however Affairs might stand in *France*, yet our Friends in *Holland* had not lost all hopes, as may appear by the following Letter which I received from thence.

S I R,

“ WE cannot look upon the frequent and
 “ earnest Applications of so many of
 “ our Friends for your coming into these
 “ Parts to be lost. We are fully satisfied of
 “ our Interest with you, and have heard with
 “ Joy the Report of those Gentlemen who
 “ were lately at *Vevay*, how much you are
 “ concerned for the Publick Cause. We can-
 “ not but be sensible of the difference between
 “ treating with a Monarch, and engaging
 “ with a Free State, and are glad to find that
 “ the same Principles which arm you against
 “ the

“ the one, cause you to incline to the other
 “ upon reasonable Terms ; which we doubt
 “ not would be offer’d, if you would appear
 “ among us. They have here received such
 “ an Account of the condition of our Friends
 “ in *England*, that they are inclined to give
 “ us considerable Succours of all Things ne-
 “ cessary for our Enterprize. This is the se-
 “ cond time that the States have caused a
 “ great Body of Land-Forces to be shipp’d on
 “ board their Fleet purely on our account,
 “ protesting in the most solemn manner, that
 “ they have no other Design than to give the
 “ good People of *England* a seasonable and
 “ effectual Aid. If we lose this opportunity,
 “ we may probably repent our Folly, but shall
 “ hardly redeem our Credit. For these Rea-
 “ sons we renew our most affectionate Desires
 “ that you would hasten to us, and hope for
 “ your speedy Answer rather in Person than
 “ by Writing, lest this also be added to all
 “ our former Afflictions, that another oppor-
 “ tunity be lost.

This Letter being subscribed by many Per-
 sons was sent to me by the way of *Germany*,
 and a Duplicate being dispatch’d at the same
 time through *France*, I received both. From
 all which, considering that so much weight
 was laid upon my Presence in *Holland*, tho’ I
 could see little reason for their Opinion, I re-
 solved to insist no longer upon any thing to be
 done

done by the States previous to my Engagement, but only that they would disclaim that Action which had passed in relation to our three Friends, and promise to make Provision, in any Treaty they should make with our Enemies, for all those who should engage with them, or at least to leave them in as good a Condition as they were at the time of their Engagement. If this could be effected I determined to make use of the following Passport, which I had received from the Count *D'Estrades* Ambassador for the King of *France* to the States General of the United Provinces.

“ Le Comte D'Estrades Lieutenant General
 “ en chef dans les Armées du Roy, Gouver-
 “ neur de Donquerque, Maire Perpetuel de
 “ Bourdeaux, Vice - Roy de l'Amerique,
 “ Chevalier des Ordres de sa Majesté, & son
 “ Ambassadeur extraordinaire en Hollande.

“ **N**ous requerons tous Gouverneurs,
 “ Commandeurs, Capitaines, Lieute-
 “ tenants, Maires, Eschevins, Juges, & autres
 “ Officiers tant de mer que de terre, a qui il
 “ appartiendra, de laisser seurement & Libre-
 “ ment passer, chacun par les lieux de ses
 “ pouvoirs & juridictions, le Sieur Edmond
 “ Ludlow & quatre Valets, sans aucun trou-
 “ ble ou empeschement, mais plustost toute
 “ faveur,

(193)

“ faveur, aide & assistance, & ils nous feront
“ un singulier plaisir. Fait a la Haye le 2 jour
“ de Mars, 1666.

His Seal of Arms
was here affixed.

D'Estrades.

The same in English.

*The Count D'Estrades, Lieutenant General in
chief of the King's Armies, Governor of Dun-
kirk, perpetual Mayor of Burdeaux, Vice-Roy
of America, Knight of his Majesty's Orders,
and his extraordinary Ambassador in Holland.*

WE require all Governors, Commanders,
Captains, Lieutenants, Mayors, Sheriffs,
Judges, and other Officers to whom it may belong,
as well by Sea as by Land, to permit —————
with four Servants, to pass freely and safely
through the Places of their respective Powers and
Jurisdictions, without any Trouble or Impediment,
but rather all manner of Favour, Aid and As-
sistance. Given at the Hague the second of
March, 1666.

D'Estrades.

Some

Some time after this, an Engagement happening between the *English* and *Dutch* Fleets, tho' both Parties made Bonfires for the Victory, yet the Court of *England* conceiving the Advantage to have been on their side, resolved to improve the opportunity for the advancement of the Prince of *Orange*. To this end the Earl of *Arlington*, who was then Secretary of State, wrote a Letter to one *Buat* a *French* Man, with whom he had Correspondence; and knowing him to be well affected to the Prince, acquainted him that he judged this to be the time of promoting that Interest. *Buat*, who, tho' he had a Military Command in *Holland*, yet pretended to serve that State with Intelligence from Foreign Parts, having on that account some Paper to present to the Pensionary *John de Witte*, put the Lord *Arlington's* Letter by mistake into his Hands. Upon this, *Buat* was seized with his Papers; which, as was said, gave them so much Light, that *Trump* with his Brother-in-Law the *Sieur Kuivoit* of *Roterdam*, were removed from their Employments, and forbidden to appear in any publick Council; the latter, with one *Vanderbulst* of the same Place, departing the Country. Many others were seized, and Orders being given to prosecute *Buat* for Treason, he was found guilty and condemned to lose his Head. *Trump* was confined to his House, and the Baron de *Ghent* was appointed to succeed him in his Command by Sea.

About

About the middle of *September*, 1666. The Count of *Donagh* sent me Advice by M. *Constance*, That, having been at *Chatillion*, the usual place of our Enemies Rendevouz, he had obliged the Master of the Inn where they met, to promise, That if he should discover any Persons to have a Design against us for the future, or if those who formerly frequented his House on that account should at any time return thither, he would not fail to inform him forthwith. This Message was the more seasonable, because within few Days, our good Friend Monsieur *Torneri*, upon whom alone, since the Death of Monsieur *de la Fleschere*, we depended for Intelligence from *Savoy*, was Murder'd by *Du Fargis*, one of those who with *Du Pre* attempted to Assassinate us in the Year 1664. It was said, That Monsieur *Torneri* had spoken some words concerning *Du Fargis*, which containing too much Truth, and therefore most Offending; *Du Fargis* having waited some time for an occasion of Revenge, at last shot him in the Head, as he was on Horseback taking leave of his Sister at her House in *Yvian*; of which Wound he died the same Day.

The Court of *England* having procured from the Parliament a Grant of about Eighteen Hundred Thousand Pounds, under colour of carrying on the War against *Holland* and *France*; began immediately after the Prorogation of the Parliament, to discover their

Intentions to make Peace with their Neighbours. Presents and Offices of Civility passed frequently between *Paris* and *London*; and the King of *France* sent Orders to all his Ports, That if any *English* Ships should be forced into them by stress of Weather or otherwise, they should be received and assisted with all things necessary. The King of *England* acquainted the Ambassador of *Sweden*, that as Mediator he might intimate to the States, That upon an invitation from them, they should not find them averse from Peace, and that he was contented the *Hague* should be the place of treating. But the Pensionary *John de Witte*, who well knew what Opportunities of sowing Divisions among them the *Hague* would afford, calling to mind that the King had formerly pretended he would never be brought to treat in any other place than at *London*, and therefore suspecting that by this seeming Condescension he might propose to himself to do that by little Arts, which he could not compass by open force, procured the States to excuse themselves from treating at the *Hague*, under colour that being an open Town, they could not so well protect such Ministers as should be sent to treat, from the insults of the People, as they had formerly experienced to their great Regret, and to offer *Utrecht*, *Breda* or *Maestricht* for the place of treating, at the choice of the King of *England*. When the *Swedish* Ambassador had

communicated this Answer to the King, he fell into a great Passion, not so much on account of their refusal, but because he saw his Designs discovered. However, being resolved not to set out the Fleet, and therefore constrained to be Calm, he swallow'd the bitter Draught, and made choice of *Breda* for this purpose. He nominated Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, who for his Merits in helping to bring about the late change, was now called Lord *Hollis*, together with one Mr. *Coventry* to be his Commissioners for treating the Peace, putting on an appearance of caressing the *Dutch*, calling them his Allies, offering that each Party should keep what they possess'd, and that the Treaty concluded between them in the Year 1662. should be the foundation of this. The Seamen wanting Employment, enter'd themselves for the most part into the Service of the Merchants, and some of them into that of the States ; by which means it became impossible to Man out a Fleet upon any occasion however pressing.

The *Dutch* being well inform'd of what pass'd in *England*, and thinking this Opportunity not to be neglected, made as great preparations for War as they had ever done. *De Ruyter* was appointed to command the Fleet, and Four Thousand Land-men were put on Board under the Conduct of one Colonel *Doleman*, an Experienc'd Officer, and who for not rendring himself within the time

limited by the late Proclamation, had incurred the penalty of Treason by Virtue of a late Act passed at *Westminster*, and on that account believed to be more firm to their Interest. In this Conjunction, my Friends and Country-men in *Holland* attack'd me again with Letters, assuring me, That nothing could hinder the speedy Dispatch of this Fleet but the Expectation of my Arrival ; That the States had resolved to Land a considerable Force in a certain place in *England* by their Advice, and that our Friends in *England* should have timely notice of their Intentions ; That Colonel *Doleman* was to command those Troops as General, unless I should arrive before the Sailing of the Fleet, and in such case it was order'd that he should have the next Post under me. But having received no satisfaction touching those things upon which I had formerly insisted ; being of Opinion that it lay within the Power of the Court of *England* to make Peace with the *Dutch* when they pleased, and conceiving that the great Preparations made by the *Dutch*, and the Correspondences kept on foot with our Friends were only in order to constrain the King to a Compliance with them ; I returned for my Answer, that I thought Colonel *Doleman*, who was in the actual Service of the States, and an able Officer, to be much fitter for that Employment than my self. But if, contrary to my Sense of things, the States and our Friends should

should judge otherwise, I told them again, That if I might have satisfaction in the two Points I formerly mentioned, I would not be wanting to contribute my best assistance to the Service of the Publick, tho' in the lowest degree of Employment; and that if I might be assured that a Journey to *Holland* at this time would not tend to deprive me of the Protection I now enjoy'd, I would not fail for their Satisfaction to undertake it without delay, that we might debate these things together upon the Place. It soon appeared that I had good ground for this Caution; for upon the Arming of the Bishop of *Munster* contrary to the late Agreement he had made, and the Restitution of *Rhynberg* demanded by the Elector of *Colen*, together with some other Accidents, the *Dutch* shewed themselves ready to treat with *England*, upon the foot of the Treaty concluded between them in the Year 1662. with little alteration in the Articles touching the King's Enemies, and none at all in that relating to the late King's Judges.

The *English* Plenipotentiaries, notwithstanding the ill Condition of Affairs at home, spent a whole Month at *Breda* without entering into Conference with those of *Holland*, which with the Quarrels that happened between these two Ministers, gave the States a farther occasion to improve the present Conjunction to the best advantage; many of them

declaring openly that they would protect the most obnoxious of the King's Enemies. In this Resolution they sent their Fleet to Sea, and made directly for the River of *Thames* with their Land-Forces on Board. The Court of *England* having made no preparations for the defence of the Nation, was alarm'd to the last degree with the News of their Approach; and at the first meeting of the Council, a Proposition was made to Assemble the Parliament with all possible Expedition, tho' they had been Adjourn'd to the Tenth of *October*, that by their Advice either a Peace might be made to the Satisfaction of the Nation, or the War carried on to the best Advantage. On the other side, the Chancellor *Hyde* knowing himself to be in danger from the Parliament, did all that he could to oppose that Motion; and conceiving an Army more useful to promote the Arbitrary Designs of the Court, took this occasion to propose the raising of Twelve Thousand Men. And tho' the Major part of the Council carried it for Assembling the Parliament on the 25th of the next ensuing *July*, and that a Proclamation should be forthwith published to that end, yet the design of raising an Army was not laid aside.

The *Dutch* Admiral finding no Enemies at Sea, resolv'd to attack the *English* in their own Harbours, and to that end made all Sail for the River. The first *English* Ships he saw

were

were Eight or Nine outward bound Merchant-men with their Convoy, which upon discovery of the *Holland* Fleet having tack'd about, he chased them up to the *Hope*; but being suddenly becalmed, he was oblig'd to come to an Anchor. Here he met with a Storm, which ending in a favourable North-East Wind, he stood towards the Isle of *Shepway*, and being arriv'd there he Landed about Eight Hundred Men, seized the Island, and took the Fort of *Sheerness*, a Ship of War that lay for the Guard of that Fort, being taken by some of their great Ships at the same time. Having possessed themselves of this Fort, Eighteen of their lesser Vessels with some Fire-ships, under the Conduct of Vice-Admiral *Van Ghent*, sailed the next Day into the River of *Chatham*, and notwithstanding the Ships that had been sunk to hinder their Passage, came up to an Iron Chain that traversed the River, and had been made on this occasion, fought the *Mathias* and *Charles* the fifth, which were order'd to defend it, killed most of their Men, burnt the Ships and broke the Chain. Then passing by *Upner-Castle* they burnt the *Mary*, took the *Unity* and the Royal *Charles*, and placed their Colours upon the latter in view of her Master who stood on the Shore, observing the Effects of his prudent and vigilant Government. On the third Day they burnt the Royal *Oak*, the Royal *James*, and the Loyal *London*, with divers other

smaller Vessels. In this deplorable State of Affairs, *Monk* being desirous to save the remaining Ships, he caused them to be sunk in the River, and order'd five Fire-ships to fall in among the *Dutch* Fleet, but without the Success he expected. In the mean time, the Trained Bands from all the adjacent Parts were Marching towards *Chatham*, to endeavour to prevent farther Mischief by Land; Nine Ships were sunk at *Woolwich*, and four at *Blackwal*; and Platforms furnished with Artillery and Works to defend them, were raised in divers Places to hinder the Enemy from coming up to *London*. But the *Dutch*, who had another Game to play, having exacted a Sum of Money from the Inhabitants of *Shepway*, and carried off the Guns and Ammunition they found at *Sheerness*, fell down with their Fleet to the Buoy in the *Nore*, and *Solebay*; giving leisure to all Parties to make their Reflections upon this Expedition; the Court in the mean time taking hold of this occasion to colour the raising of Land-Forces.

These Losses, and this Dishonour falling upon the *English*, were not without effect at *Breda*. For their Plenipotentiaries, who had hitherto been very slow in their Negotiation, now applied themselves so effectually to the Work, that in two or three Days they made a considerable progress in the Treaty, and agreed to the Articles that were thought to contain

contain the greatest Difficulties. One Article concerning *Denmark* retarded the conclusion for some Days, the *English* Ambassadors desiring time to know the King's Pleasure in that Matter. But he being compell'd to submit to the present Necessity, order'd them to Sign all, expecting to take Revenge at a more convenient time.

By this time it was manifest, That tho' the Pensionary *John de Witte*, and the Heer *Nieuport*, with one or two more might be sincere in their Dealings with us ; yet the far greater part of the States and their Officers had desired our Conjunction with them for no other end, than to procure better Terms for themselves from our common Enemy, chusing rather to see a Tyranny than a Common-wealth Established in *England*, as knowing by Experience that they could corrupt the former, and by that means possess themselves of the most profitable parts of Trade. And therefore having procured from the *English* Court some new Advantages for their Commerce, notwithstanding all that had passed, and their most solemn Protestations made to our Friends, they agreed to Articles touching the King's Enemies, which were the same in substance with those of 1662. promising to deliver up those they call Regicides into the hands of the King's Ministers , or others appointed by him ; and to deal with all Persons who should be declared Fugitives or Rebels, as I
have

have mentioned already in another place: Only forsooth those who flie to them for matters of Conscience shall not be judged to be comprehended in that Article; as if the King would not be glad to clear his Hands of all those who have any Conscience, having pressed them long since to shew their peaceable Disposition by retiring into some of the *American* Plantations, where they might enjoy the liberty of their Consciences without interruption. Besides, if he should desire to reach any Persons who might withdraw to *Holland* on this account, 'tis but charging them with some heinous Crime, and then they are to be treated as Rebels and Fugitives. But having purchased the former Peace with the price of Blood, they resolved to strengthen the second with the same Cement. So that I think it may be concluded without Injustice, that the *Dutch* had no real intention to do any good to those who were oppressed in *England*, and that it was in the Power of that Court to make Peace with them whenever they pleased, tho' with the ruin of those who should engage on their side. And I conceive my self obliged to bless God for the caution I used in requiring them to deal plainly and openly in the things which I demanded, and they pretended to do for us, before I would join in the Undertaking. If the *Dutch* had been necessitated by ill success to accept such Terms as they could get from the Court of *England*,
I doubt

I doubt not all the Blame would have been thrown upon me ; but since it pleased God to put it into their Power to do us all the good imaginable, and our Enemies all the hurt, 'tis past Dispute that the defect was altogether in their Will.

Whilst these things were in agitation, the Parliament met on the 25th of *July*, according to the late Proclamation ; and entring immediately upon the Debate of the Army, which they resolv'd to break, spoke so clearly and freely touching that Matter, That the Court resolv'd to give them a little Interruption, hoping in that time to take off some of those who had appeared with the greatest warmth by such means as they had in their Hands, or if that Design should not succeed, to think upon taking new Measures. To this end they were acquainted by the Chancellor *Hyde*, That it was the King's Pleasure they should Adjourn till the 29th of the same Month : But before this Message came to them, they had passed a Resolution, That the King should be desired forthwith to Disband the Army he had lately raised. The Day to which they had been Adjourned being come, and the House full of Members, their Speaker appear'd not, till the King came to the House of Peers, where, having sent for the House of Commons, he made a short Speech touching the late Peace, and then directed the Chancellor to do as he had commanded ; Who,

without

without any Preamble told them, That it was His Majesties Pleasure they should be Adjourned to the Tenth of *October* next. But for all this, some of the Council had the Courage to oppose these violent Courses, and to advise, That the Army might be Disbanded according to the desire of the House of Commons, That the Seal should be taken from *Hyde*, and that the Parliament should meet at the time appointed, and be left to the liberty of providing for the Publick Safety in their own way. Pursuant to this Advice, *Monk* was employ'd to demand the Seal of the Chancellor, and embraced this occasion of Revenge with Joy ; for the Chancellor had openly blamed his Conduct in presuming to attack the whole *Dutch* Fleet the last Year, whilst Prince *Rupert* with part of the *English* Fleet was separated from him. The Chancellor refused to deliver the Seal to *Monk*, under pretence that some Men had suffered for parting with it too easily, telling him, That he would bring it to the King in Council the next Day, being not without hopes by his interest and presence to prevail with them to change their Resolution. But his Master finding himself obliged to give way to the present Torrent, persisted in his Demand, and having received the Seal from his Hands, entrusted it to Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, with the Title of Lord-Keeper.

Among

Among the various Reasons that were given to justify the King in abandoning the Chancellor to the Resentment of the People, one was, That he had Countermined the King in the Design he had to be Divorced from the Queen, under pretence that She had been pre-engaged to another Person ; That She had made a Vow of Chastity before her Marriage, and that She was incapable of having Children. The Person designed to fill her place was one Mrs. *Stuart*, a Young and Beautiful Lady, who had some Office under the Queen. The Chancellor, who had procured his Daughter to be Married to the Duke of *York*, and was therefore suspected of having made the Match with the Infanta of *Portugal*, that he might make way for the succession of the collateral Line, sent for the Duke of *Richmond* ; and pretending to be sorry that a Person of his Worth, and near Relation to the King should receive no Marks of his Favour, advised him to Marry Mrs. *Stuart*, as the most certain way he could take to advance himself. The Young Man unwarily took in the Bait, and credulously relying upon what the Old *Volpone* had said, made immediate Application to the Young Lady, who was ignorant of the King's Intentions, and in a few Days Married her. The King being thus disappointed, and soon after informed by what means this Match had been brought about, banished the Duke with his new Dutchess from the Court,

and

and kept his Resentment against the Chancellor to a more convenient Opportunity.

By Letters from *Paris* I was informed, That the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, not at all discouraged by the Unſucceſſfulneſs of the Attempts of her Instruments againſt us, had openly declared, That ſhe would not reſt, till the Deſign ſhould be effected, if Mony would bring it about ; and to that end had employed other Perſons than thoſe who had formerly endeavoured to Aſſaſſinate us. Few Days after, a *Swiſs* Merchant reſiding at *Lyons*, coming to *Vevay* upon Buſineſs relating to his Profeſſion, acquainted me, That having obſerved an *Engliſh* Gentleman of a reſerved Carriage to have taken a Lodging in a private Houſe at *Lyons*, and finding upon inquiry that he was no Trader ; thinking him to be too far advanced in Age to travel either for Pleaſure, or to acquire Experience, and diſliking the Company he frequented, he began to ſuſpect him to be one of thoſe who were employed in the Deſign againſt us ; and being deſirous to know the truth in order to do us what Service he could, he ſoon found means to be introduced into his Acquaintance. After two or three Days Converſation, the Gentleman finding him to be a *Swiſs*, and of the Canton of *Friburg*, inquired of him whether *Vevay* were within that Jurisdiction, whether the *Engliſh* Gentlemen were ſtill there, and in what Number, and whether he had any Acquaintance

acquaintance or Interest in the Place ; and upon Answer that he had many Friends there, he began to make him great Offers if he would enter into an Engagement against us. He proceeded to tell me, That in order to draw out what he could of the Design, he had objected the difficulty of the Undertaking, by reason those Gentlemen were so constantly upon their Guard, and so well beloved by all Persons in the Town, that no Stranger could come thither without being strictly examined and diligently observ'd : Besides, that their Excellencies of *Bern*, by so severely punishing one of those who had attempted to Assassinate them, had sufficiently declared to the World what Usage others might expect, who should engage in such an Enterprize. To which the Assassin made answer, That he was convinced there was no hope of carrying any of us off by force, or attempting against us in an open manner, but that the Business might be done from a Hedge or a Wall by Persons Disguised ; adding, That *Riardo* and others had foolishly squander'd away the Money of the Dutchess of *Orleans* ; but that now the Design was so well laid that it could not easily miscarry. This Person he describ'd to be of a low Stature, his Hair of a dark Brown beginning to turn Gray, of quick Apprehension, and of an active and strong Constitution. He informed me also, That tho' some Persons in *Savoy* had undertaken for a considerable

derable Sum to raise such a Party of Men as might seize us by open force ; yet those who had engaged them, failing to supply them with Mony according to Agreement, that Design, and all others of that Nature, he believed, were totally laid aside. He concluded with assuring me, That he would take pains to learn what he could of this or any other thing that might concern us, and not fail to give me timely and faithful Advice of what he should discover.

The part in this Scene, on which our Enemies laid most weight, was to be acted by one *Roux*, a quick witted, nimble tongued and confident *French*-man, who upon Recommendation from *France* was entertain'd at the House of one Colonel *Balthazar*, in the Country of *Veaux*, as others had been who were engaged in the same villanous Design. He gave himself out for a considerable Person, and pretended to be Commissionated from the King of *England*, to treat about Affairs of great Importance with the four Protestant Cantons of *Switzerland*, and more particularly with their Lordships of *Bern*. Colonel *Balthazar* had lived for some time in the Palatinate under mean Circumstances ; but putting himself into the Armies of the King of *France*, he in a short time by Plunder and Rapine had accumulated great Riches. Between these two it was concerted, That Colonel *Weiss*, a Senator of *Bern*, whom I have
had

had occasion to mention before, being at *Geneva*, by Order of their Excellencies, for adjusting some Matters in difference between that Republick and the Duke of *Savoy*, should, after he had dispatch'd his Affairs, be invited to the House of Colonel *Balthazar*. Which being accordingly done, *Roux* was introduc'd into his Company, and after some Discourse inform'd him, That the King of *England* was desirous to entertain a more particular Correspondence with the Protestant Cantons, and especially that of *Bern*, than he had done for the time past, if on their part they would make him the Compliment to desire it by an Agent to be sent into *England* on that account, and preliminary to this Treaty, would withdraw their Protection from those who had contributed to the Death of his Father, expressing himself amaz'd that their Excellencies should favour those whom *France* and the *Low-Countries* had deliver'd up, and all other Nations had abandon'd. An account of this Business being sent to *Bern*, was imparted by Mr. Treasurer *Steiger*, to our true Friend Mr. *John Henry Humelius*, with Advice to inform me forthwith of what was doing. In the mean time, *Roux* made it his Business where-soever he came, to endeavour by Aspersions to render us odious, and to justify those who had kill'd Mr. *Lisle* at *Lausanna*, affirming they had been most liberally rewarded both in *England* and *France*, and that the King of

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England

England wanted not means to gratifie all those who should do him Service. Of this I had certain and speedy information by divers Persons, who at several times had heard these and the like Discourses from *Roux*; which I may not let pass without observing, that what he said concerning those who Murder'd Mr. *Lisle* was so far from being true, that one of them died not long after he had committed that Villany, in extream want, at a mean Lodging in *Westminster*: And the other, tho' advanc'd to be a Captain in *France*, complain'd of the Ingratitude of those who had employ'd them, protesting they had never receiv'd any other reward than Three Hundred Pistoles from the Dutcheß of *Orleans*, of which Two Hundred had been spent in laying the Design, and waiting an occasion of putting it in Execution.

Roux having inform'd himself as well as he could of things in these parts, address'd himself to some of the Government of *Zurich*, pretending to be sent from the King of *England* with a Commission to propose that the four Protestant Cantons would enter into the Alliance lately made by the King of *England*; the States of *Holland*, and the Crown of *Sweden*, for securing the Peace between the Kings of *Spain* and *France*. Which Proposition being communicated to the Council, they having been inform'd concerning the pretended Agent, and the condition annex'd to his Business,

ness,

ness, *That their Excellencies of Bern should abandon the English*, refus'd him Audience under pretext that he had not any Letters of Credence, which he would have perswaded them he had left at a place in *Burgundy* call'd *St. Claud*. Having met with this cold Reception at *Zurich*, he resolv'd to make tryal of the Government of *Bern*; and accordingly procur'd one of their number to acquaint them with his Propositions; but they us'd him more roughly, and order'd the Person he had engag'd to inform them of his Business, to let him know, That they approv'd neither of his Person nor of his Propositions, and that he might return by the same way he came. Yet all this was not enough to check the Impudence of this Fellow. For upon the return of Colonel *Weiss* from *Geneva*, (who had left the Differences between that State and the Duke of *Savoy* in a fair way of Accommodation) he attack'd him again, in hopes by his means to procure some Interest at *Bern*; protesting that the King of *England* had a great desire to enter into a more particular Alliance with that Canton than any other, provided they would deliver those who had adjudg'd his Father to Death into his Hands, or at least withdraw the Protection they had granted to them, tempting him with assurances, That whoever should carry the News of their Concurrence to the King, should receive Fifty Thousand Crowns for a Gratuity. To which the Colo-

nel made answer with more than ordinary Indignation, That he could not think of the Proposition without Horrour; That it was derogatory to the Honour of their Excellencies, and that it was not the custom of the *Swiss* to betray those who had put themselves under their Protection. This Attempt was seconded by a Letter pretended to be written from the Court of *England*, by one who would be thought a great Friend to the *Swiss* Interest, dated in *August* 1668. and address'd to one of the Syndics of *Geneva*, in order to be communicated to the Governors of *Bern*. Having obtain'd a sight of this Paper, I found in it the following Words :

“ **Y**OU are desir'd to give immediate
 “ notice to the Lords of *Bern*, That
 “ their Enemies have endeavour'd to perswade
 “ His Majesty, that they have neither the
 “ Respect nor Affection for his Person, that
 “ he might justly expect from them; That
 “ they have not only taken the Murderers of
 “ the late King into their Protection, but
 “ have publickly honour'd them with extra-
 “ ordinary Favours. This Report I have en-
 “ deavour'd to discredit, even in the presence
 “ of the Person who kill'd Mr. *Lisle* at *Lau-*
 “ *sanna*, assuring His Majesty, That if any
 “ such Persons were within the Territories of
 “ *Bern*, the Government was not inform'd of
 “ their Crimes; and that I firmly believ'd,
 “ If

“ If His Majesty should desire it, they would
 “ not only banish them, but deliver them up,
 “ as the *Hollanders* had done, to receive the
 “ just Punishment of so horrible a Crime.

Upon this Letter, and other Artifices us'd by our Enemies, Colonel *Balthazar* openly gave out, That this would be the last Year of our residence at *Vevay*; But their Excellencies of *Bern* having perus'd the Letter, and finding no Name subscrib'd, concluded it to be written by some mercenary Fellow, who had been hir'd to that purpose; and some of them did us the favour to promise that they would endeavour to find out the Authors of the Contrivance. Colonel *Weiss* also sent to inform me of the late Conversation he had with *Roux*, and to assure us, That tho' he had been deluded into a good Opinion of him, by the false Pretences of *Balthazar*; yet being sufficiently convinc'd of his Mistake, he would be always ready to serve us to the utmost of his Power, and would answer, That General *D'Erlach* should also do the same, with as many of the Senate as he could make use of for our Friends. These assurances were accompany'd with a Message from the Advocate by one Captain *Bartholomeo Turene*, who had been an active Officer in the defence of our Country-men of the Vallies of *Piedmont*, against the Tyranny of the Duke of *Savoy*. The Contents of this Message were to let us

know, That tho' we might have some Enemies, yet we had many more Friends at *Bern*; promising to continue his care of us, and to do his best to defeat the Designs of our Enemies.

About the same time, Mr. Treasurer *Steiger* coming to *Vevay* about the Publick Affairs, made us another Visit, and did us the honour to Dine at our Quarters, accompany'd by the Bailiff of the Town, and other Principal Persons of the Country. In this Conversation he inform'd us, That when Application was made to their Excellencies, that they would appoint some Persons to treat with *Roux*, or at least give him an Audience, he had taken the liberty to say in the Council, That tho' there were no ground to suspect him of ill Designs, as there was but too much, and that the King of *England* should send to them with all the Ceremony and Forms requisite to desire them to withdraw their Protection from us, he could never prevail with himself to give his consent to such a Resolution; because the Protection having been granted after serious deliberation, and the *English* Gentlemen having done nothing to forfeit their Excellencies Favour, it ought in his Opinion to be esteem'd Sacred. He told us, That the Person who had mov'd the Council to take *Roux's* Business into Consideration, had been publicly Reprimanded for his forwardness in that Matter; and that their Excellencies had refus'd to receive

receive an Agent from the King of *England* to reside among them, returning for Answer, That they had no Business with that King for the present ; but if at any time they should have Affairs to treat with him, they would address themselves by their own Ministers.

Roux having met with the Repulses above mention'd, and receiving information from the Bailiff of *Nyon*, That Monsieur *Gabriel de Diesbach*, at that time Bailiff of the Jurisdiction of *Vevay*, had threatned to treat him according to his Merits if he should presume to come within his Power, retir'd to *St. Claud*, in the Free-County of *Burgundy* ; having made great Complaints of the Usage he had receiv'd at *Bern* and *Zurich* ; boasting of his Correspondencies with the Ministers of *Sweden* and *Holland*, as well as of his present Employment from the King of *England*, and shewing Letters from *Don Diego de Castel-Rodrigo*, Governor of *Flanders* to the Governor of the County of *Burgundy*, desiring him to furnish Mony and whatever might be necessary to his Undertaking. From hence he went to *Geneva*, and was there seen frequently in the Company of a certain Stranger, who, by the description we receiv'd of his Person, we found to be the same that had been for some time at *Lyons*, and of whom I had an account by the *Swiss* Merchant of *Friburg*. After a short stay at *Geneva*, he return'd to *St. Claud*, and appearing in better Equipage than he had

formerly done, he sent one of his Companions to the Bailiff of *Nyon* to inform him, That having receiv'd fresh Instructions from the King of *England*, he had Propositions to make to their Excellencies of *Bern*, which would be of great advantage to their Republick, particularly in the way of Trade; desiring leave to be admitted to impart the Heads of his Negotiation to him. The Bailiff who had been sufficiently inform'd touching his Person and Designs, soon dismiss'd his Messenger with this Answer, That being abundantly satisfy'd, his principal Errant was to attempt something against those *English* Gentlemen, whom their Excellencies had taken into their Protection, and were resolv'd to defend, he would have nothing to do with him. But this proving not sufficient to oblige him to desist, he sent his Messenger a second time to the Bailiff, to propose that he would surrender himself into the Hands of the Government of *Bern* for Caution, that he intended no Mischief to our Persons; but indeed confess'd, That being charg'd by the King of *England* with Propositions to those of *Bern*, tending highly to their Advantage, he should not consult the Honour of his Master, by treating with them, whilst his most dangerous and avow'd Enemies were openly protected in their Territories. Which being in effect the same with what he had said before, the Bailiff contented himself to return the same Answer, and immediately dispatch'd

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his Son-in-Law to give me notice of what had pass'd, and to advise me, tho' there seem'd to be little probability of his daring to attempt us openly, and that *Balthazar* would not be thought to correspond with him, yet that we would be upon our Guard against the private Designs of both.

In the mean time, Monsieur *Mouliere*, who was then Resident for the King of *France* in *Switzerland*, having receiv'd information from some Persons (as I think I have Reason to believe) that wish'd well to us, That this *Roux*, tho' a Native of *France*, had sollicit'd the Cantons to enter into Measures prejudicial to that King's Interest, he presently dispatch'd Advice of what he had heard to the Court; upon which Orders were given to one Monsieur *Martel*, who had serv'd under the Marechal *Turenne*, to surprize and seize him. *Martel* having travers'd the Country for some Months, before he could find an opportunity to compass his Design, at last fell acquainted with and easily corrupted a Priest of *St. Claud*, who was a great Confident of *Roux*, procuring him to send a Messenger to *Balthazar's* House, where *Roux* then was, with a Letter to invite him to the House of another Priest at *Roussaire*, on the Frontier of *Burgundy*, where he promis'd a great Regale should be provided for his Entertainment. *Roux* would by no means disappoint his Friend the Priest, and therefore attended only by one Servant,

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and the Priest's Man he set forward in the Morning, that he might reach the Place of appointment in convenient time. But *Martel* with his Party having placed themselves in the way by which he was to pass, as soon as he saw him approaching, rode up to him and seized him. *Roux* his Servant made his escape and left his Master to shift for himself. But the Priest's Man who was ignorant of the Design, supposing them to be Robbers, made what Resistance he could, and received a Shot in the Shoulder of which he died in a few days at *Nyon*. *Roux* being thus seized, *Martel* order'd his Hands to be tied to the Pommel of the Saddle, and his Feet under the Horses Belly, and in this posture carried him off. As they passed by the Abbey of *Beaumont*, which is situated within the Territories of *Bern*, he began to call for Aid, but a Handkerchief being presently put into his Mouth, his Voice was not heard. In three Days they arrived at *Lyons*, and secured their Prisoner in the Castle of *Pierre en Scize*, where after he had remained some Days, he was transported to *Paris*, and imprisoned in the *Bastile*.

For this Service the King of *France* rewarded Monsieur *Martel* with a thousand Pistoles in Money, and a Promise of the first Company that should be vacant in his Guards. The second Person in this Party received six hundred Pistoles, and a Promise of a Foot Company. The rest had fifty Pistoles a Man, and

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Assurances of Preferment according to their Capacity. During the Confinement of *Roux*, Monsieur de *Lyonne*, Secretary of State, went frequently to him in the Prison; but tho' it had been reported that he had contributed much to the making of the League called The Tripple Alliance, yet he could draw nothing from him concerning any Negotiations in which, 'twas said, he had been concerned. Only he told him, That he had Things of great Importance to discover, which he resolved not to communicate to any Person but the King. In the mean time despairing of Life, and dreading the Punishment of the Wheel with which he had been threatned, he gave himself a Wound in the small Guts with a Knife he had procured from one of his Keepers; hoping by that Means and an obstinate refraining from eating, he might put an end to his Fears. On the 21st of *June* finding himself very weak, and as he thought almost ready to expire, he sent to acquaint Monsieur de *Lyonne* with his Condition, and to let him know that he had hesitated too long. Upon this the Secretary went immediately to the King, and having informed him of the Message he had receiv'd from *Roux*, the King sent one of his Physicians to him; who returning with all possible Expedition, and representing the Danger he was in, a Letter was immediately drawn by Monsieur *Colbert*; signed by the King, and directed to the Lieutenant-Criminal

Criminal to proceed without delay to his Trial. Being brought before his Judges, the Witnesses deposed, that he had said, There were thirty *Ravaillac's* in *France*, which the King should find before the next *August*; with other Things tending to prove that he had engaged in Designs against the King's Person. But he denied all, and refused, as before, to make any Discovery of the Things he knew, unless to the King himself. He was condemned upon the Evidence to be broken alive on the Wheel, and afterwards to be thrown into the Common Shore for endeavouring to kill himself in the Prison; which Sentence was order'd to be put in execution at the end of the *Pont Neuf*; but by reason of his Weakness it was performed before the Prison of the *Chastellette*, whither he had been removed from the *Bastille*. This *Roux* alias *Font-covert*, and *St. Marcelle*, was a Native of *Nismes* in the Province of *Languedoc*, and had been a Spy for the Court in the time of Cardinal *Mazarin*; for which Service he had been rewarded with a Patent for Licensing Stage-Coaches and other publick Carriages in the said Province. But the Cardinal upon some Information having suppress'd that Grant, and remov'd his Brother from another Employment, he became so discontented, that he quitted the Kingdom, and procur'd himself to be naturaliz'd in *Holland*. During his Imprisonment, *Spain*, *Holland* and *Switzerland* demanded him

of the King of *France*; the first, because he was employ'd in their Service; the *Hollander* for the same reason, and on account of his Naturalization; the *Swiss*, only to lay claim to their Right, he having been seized within their Jurisdiction. But the Court of *England* was by this time become so intirely French, that they said not one Word in his behalf.

Our Friends at *Bern*, according to their accustomed Vigilance, gave us notice that a certain English Man going by the Name of *Thomas Schugar*, had applied himself to some of the Magistrates, to procure them to recommend him to teach the Mathematicks in that place, pretending to have been converted first from Popery to Lutheranism, and then from that to Calvinism, acknowledging that he had been a Priest and a Servant to the Queen-Mother of *England*, and that he had been in Arms for the late King to the year, 1646. at which time, upon the dissipation of that Party, he had transported himself beyond the Seas, and continued abroad till the year 1660. They described him to be of low Stature, ill Looks, speaking seven or eight Languages, and that he was very inquisitive after the English Gentlemen, who had put themselves under their Excellencies Protection. This Person, under pretext that he could find no Employment at *Bern*, came to *Vevay*, and used all means possible to become acquainted with some of our Company, denying to them that he

he had ever been either a Papist, Priest, or Servant to the Queen Mother. But being told that we had too good Information from *Bern* to doubt of that Matter, he finding himself suspected, and therefore not likely to succeed in his Designs, departed from *Vevay* the next Morning after this Discourse. We understood afterwards that passing by *Ausburg* he had been entertained for eight or ten days at the House of Mr. *Oliver St. Johns* who had been formerly Chief Justice of the Common-pleas in *England*, and that having gotten the Name of the Person by whose means he received his Letters, he had procured his Correspondence to be interrupted; which caused us to suspect that he had found means to serve us in the like manner, our Intercourse with *England* being for some Months wholly cut off 'till we had taken new Measures to renew it.

About this time *Henrietta Maria*, Queen-Mother of *England*, and Aunt to the present King of *France*, having been formerly an active Instrument in contriving and fomenting the long and bloody Civil War in *England*, and encouraging the barbarous Massacre of the Protestants in *Ireland*; and more lately from a Spirit of Revenge and Malice, a principal Adviser of the Cruelties acted in *England* upon the alteration of the Government, died at *Paris*. Her Distemper at first seem'd not to be dangerous, but upon taking something
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prescrib'd by the Physicians to procure Sleep, the Potion operated in such a manner that she wak'd no more. She receiv'd Threescore Thousand Pounds Yearly from *England*, and yet left many and great Debts unpay'd. She was our particular Enemy, and had constantly favour'd the Designs that had been carry'd on against our Lives.

The Parliament in *England* having been Prorogu'd for about Eighteen Months, met on the 20th of *October*, and the House of Commons being sent for to the Lords House, after the King had acquainted them with his Joy to see them again after so long absence, he desir'd they would consider his Debts, and exhorted both Houses to *Union*. Which last Admonition was thought to arise from a Pamphlet that had been publish'd by the Lord *Hollis*, touching the Case of one Mr. *Skynner* a Merchant of *London*, against the *East-India* Company, in which Discourse he seem'd to out-do the highest of all those who had ever written for the Privileges of the Lords. This was a strange Reverse of the Medal; especially to those, who knew, That when he was a Member of the House of Commons, he had so far despis'd the Privileges of the Lords, that at a Conference between the two Houses, in which the Lords shew'd themselves unwilling to comply with the Commons; he had openly said, That if they persisted to refuse their Concurrence, the Commons would do the thing

thing in Dispute without them. However, one of the Members of the House of Commons answer'd *Hollis's* Pamphlet with such force and sharpness, that upon Debate they came to three Resolutions to this Effect: That divers things affirm'd in his Book were false and scandalous: That from this time the Lords shall never originally intermeddle with the Cause of any Commoner: And that what the Lords have done in the Business of Mr. *Skynner* shall be razed out of their Books. These Votes being carry'd to the Lords for their Approbation, they return'd for Answer, That they would shortly send them a Bill touching this Matter.

The King of *France* having resolv'd to visit his late Acquisitions in the *Low-Countries*, put himself at the Head of a great Body of Troops to that purpose; of which the States of *Holland* having receiv'd information, and that the Dutches of *Orleans* would accompany the King to the Sea-Coast, and then pass over to meet her Brother at *Dover*, they began not only to dislike the personal Neighbourhood of the King of *France*, but vehemently to suspect that this Interview was design'd to unite the two Kings against them. And that they might not be wanting to themselves in this Conjunction, they immediately dispatch'd an Ambassador to complement the King of *France* in his Progress, and sent the Heer *Van Beuningen* into *England*, to endeavour to dissipate
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the Clouds that threatn'd from that side. The Court of *France*, who were not ignorant of the Designs carry'd on by the King of *England*, to subvert the Laws and Liberties of the *English* Nation ; and well understood how much the Establishment of an Arbitrary Power in the Crown would contribute to weaken that Force which had been so formidable under a Free Government, had instructed the Dutchess of *Orleans* not only to offer Mony to her Brother, in case the usual way of supplying his Luxury by Parliamentary Aids should fail, but also to give him Assurances of whatever number of Forces he should judge requisite to render the Monarchy absolute and uncontroll'd. To these she her self had added another Argument to be propos'd, no less prevalent where it was to be apply'd than the former. For she had in her Train one Mrs. *Queroualle*, of a Family in *Low-Britany*, who, besides her *French* Education and Carriage, was Young, and had pass'd in *France* for a great Beauty. With such Bait the Monarch was easily taken, and for this Tinsel Ware was contented to barter the Affections and good of the People, together with the quiet of almost all *Europe*. Puff'd up with this Success the Dutchess returns to *Paris*, and found such a Reception from the King as so great Services seem'd to deserve. But her Husband the Duke of *Orleans*, either upon suspicion of her too great Familiarity with her Brother, or of

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some other Gallantry, to which she was not a little inclin'd, did not shew himself so well contented with her Negotiation. However it was, she being at *St. Cloud*, a Palace belonging to the Duke, few Weeks after her return, having taken a Glass of Limonade, or other cooling Liquor, was suddenly seized with such violent Convulsions that she died at Two of the Clock the next Morning.

The Death of the Dutchess of *Orleans* being signify'd to the King her Brother, he at first seem'd to be highly dissatisfy'd with the Conduct of her Husband, and full of suspicion that she had been us'd in a manner not uncommon among Princes. But having resolv'd that nothing should disturb the Measures lately taken between the two Courts, he soon cool'd, and sent the Duke of *Buckingham* with the Character of his Ambassador to the Court of *France*, in appearance to condole with them for the Death of the Dutchess, but indeed to confirm the late Agreement made at *Dover*, and to concert the Methods of pursuing their Design. The Duke was receiv'd with all possible Demonstrations of Esteem and Favour. The Forces about *Paris* were exercis'd in his Presence; Balls and Comedies were prepar'd to divert him; the King gave him divers rich Presents, and made a publick Feast on the Day of *St. Louis*, principally on his account. Soon after his arrival, Things began to proceed vigorously. A great Sum of Mony was
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sent into *England*; the *French* Army was order'd to break up, and to march towards the New Conquests; Draught-Horses were bought, and dispatch'd to them with all Expedition, and no Man doubted any longer either of the League between *France* and *England*, or of their Intentions to employ their Joint Forces against the Common-wealth of *Holland*. The *Dutch* Ambassador at *Paris* was so alarm'd with this News, that he went in great haste to Monsieur *de Lyonne*, and desir'd to be inform'd whether the *French* Army were to be employ'd against his Masters. But the Secretary assur'd him there was no ground for any such Apprehensions, and that if those Troops were us'd in an Expedition, the Storm would fall far enough from their Territories. And accordingly the Marechal *de Crequi* at the head of about Twenty five Thousand Men enter'd *Lorraine*, seiz'd *Nancy*, and all the Places that lay on his way, and was within half an Hour of surprizing the Duke himself at *Espinal*. The *French* King pretended for the reason of this sudden Invasion, That the Duke of *Lorraine* had contrary to a late Treaty, fortify'd some of his own Towns, and had endeavour'd in a clandestine manner to be admitted into the Triple Alliance; declaring that he intended not to retain the Dutchy in his Possession, but designed to put it into the Hands of some other Person of the *Lorraine* Family who should be more worthy. In the

mean time the Mareſchal *de Crequi* having driven the Duke out of his Territories, publiſhed an Order, forbidding his Subjects to yield him Obedience; commanding thoſe who had been in Arms for him, to quit his Service, and to put themſelves into that of the King, and requiring all Orders of Men in that Country to do Homage and ſwear Allegiance to him, under pain of Death and Confiſcation of Eſtate.

The Duke of *Lorrain* being in this manner diſpoſſeſſ'd of his Dutchy, without any preceeding Declaration of War on the part of *France*, fill'd all *Europe* with his Complaints, and diſpatch'd a Miniſter to the King of *England* to deſire his good Offices with the French King in this Conjuncture, which he thought he had no reaſon to doubt, on account of the Obligations he had formerly laid upon him, in offering to ſerve him with his Perſon and Troops during the time of his Exile. But inſtead of the Favour expected, his Miniſter received no other Answer, than that he was ſorry for what had happened, and that the preſent Violence, like the Miſchiefs of a ſudden Inundation, muſt be endured at this time.

The Duke of *Buckingham*, after he had finiſhed the Buſineſs of his Embaſſy and received many extraordinary Favours and Preſents of great Value from the King of *France*, return'd to *England*; ſoon after which, in order

der to find new Pretences of breaking with the Dutch, a Message was sent to the English Minister residing at the *Hague* to demand the surrender of Cornet *Joyce*, who having formerly by Command of the Army, seized the late King at *Holmby*, where he was treating with the Parliaments Commissioners, had since the late Revolution withdrawn himself from the Fury of his Enemies, and retired with his Family to *Roterdam*. The Pretext used by the Court of *England* to colour this Demand was, That *Joyce* being told that a Shot had been lately made at the King, answered, That tho' that had miss'd, another might prove more successful; to which they added, That they had received Information that he had actually engaged himself in a Design against the present Government in *England*. By this means they hoped it would come to pass, either that the States by refusing to deliver him according to an Article of the late Treaty, might justly be charged with breaking the Peace; or by surrendring his Person, would totally disoblige the Commonwealth Party, and make them less averse to the intended War. Pursuant to his Instructions the Minister of *England* makes his Demand; and the States perceiving the Snare that was laid for them, immediately signed an Order to the Magistrates of *Roterdam* for seizing the Cornet, and delivered it into his Hands: But so contrived the Matter, that the

Officers who were appointed to take him in Custody, walked so long before his Door, that he had time to go out by a back way, and by that means made his escape.

Our ancient and hearty Friend Mr. Treasurer *Steiger* falling into a Paralytical Distemper, of which he soon after died, surrendred his Employments into the Hands of their Excellencies, and one Monsieur *Velden* was chosen to succeed him, who being well informed of the many Favours we had received from his Predecessor, assured us upon his first Journey into our Parts, That he would do us all the good Offices that should be in his Power, and would be as careful of our Concernments as the late Treasurer had been. And here I may not omit, that one *La Rue* of *Lyons*, who had been engaged with *Du Pre* in his Attempt to assassinate us, having some Acquaintance with Monsieur *Du Four* a Merchant of *Geneva*, wrote a Letter to let him know that he had heartily repented of that Action, and would be more ready to serve us for the future than he had been to take part in so base a Design. He informed him also that the Irishman, who had pass'd under the Name of *Riardo*, and was one of the principal Instruments that were employed against us by the Dutchess of *Orleans*, had lately been at *Lyons*, and had told him, That if he had known how many well-wishers I had among the best of his Friends, he would not have enter'd into any

Engagement against me ; That he had quitted the Service of the King of *England* on account of his Ingratitude, and that he desired above all Things to have my good Opinion, and to keep a constant Correspondence with me ; That he had been with Mr. *Richard Cromwell*, where he had met with so good reception, that he had resolved never more to apply himself to the Court, and that he would serve the honest Party in *England* with the last drop of his Blood ; all which being communicated to me by Monsieur *Du Four*, I concluded, that *Riardo* (if not *La Rue* also) designed, according to the best of his Understanding, to act the Devil's part, first to ensnare and then to accuse.

In the mean time Colonel *Balthazar* who had entertained this *Riardo* at his House whilst the design of our Assassination was forming, and had received *Roux* also with the same familiarity, finding himself disappointed in the hopes he had conceived and openly published of our removal from *Vevey*, resolved to take new Measures, and to employ Artifices to persuade their Excellencies to withdraw their Protection from us. To this end he went to Commissary-General *Godart*, who was a Member of the Council of *Bern*, and pretending to have received Letters from *England*, informed him, That the Ambassador of the Duke of *Savoy* then in that Court, had offered to the Commissioners appointed to

treat with him, That if the King of *England* would by his Interest and other Means, endeavour to procure the restitution of such Places as were kept from him by the Canton of *Bern*, his Master would undertake to deliver us dead or alive into his Hands. The Commissary-General coming to *Neuchâtel* by order of their Excellencies to terminate some Matters in dispute between the Baron de *Chasteler* and his Tenants, was pleased to give me an account of this Business; and upon Conference we agreed, That there was no probability of any such Offers made, for many Reasons, and particularly that the Duke had refused to countenance the Design against us, when he had been solicited by *Riardo* and others to that purpose; concluding it to be a contrivance of *Balthazar* to persuade the Government that the Favour extended to us might prove prejudicial to the publick Safety. But he who had endeavoured to bring us into Danger, could not without difficulty preserve himself. For the Court of *France* upon Information that *Roux*, who had been executed at *Paris*, as I have already related, had left his Papers in *Balthazar's* House, sent a Party of between twenty or thirty Horse into the *Pais de Gex*, who hovering about that Country for some time put him into so great a Fright that he burnt the Papers. He had at first slighted the Report; but being informed by one *Beauregard* his Wife's Brother that some
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of them were the same who had assisted Monsieur *Martel* in seizing *Roux*, he made the best Provision he could for his Defence.

As the Memory of those Men whose Lives have been remarkable for great and generous Actions, ought to be transmitted to Posterity with the Praises they have deserved, that others may be excited to the Imitation of their Virtues: 'Tis as just that the Names of those who have render'd themselves detestable by the Baseness of their Crimes, should be recorded, that Men may be deterr'd from treading in their Steps, lest they draw upon themselves the same Infamy. For this Reason I think it necessary to insert in this Place the true Names of some of those Assassins who were employ'd by the Court of *England* and others to take away our Lives, as I received them from an English Gentleman who was well acquainted with their Affairs, and who having passed some time in *Italy*, made me a Visit at *Vevay* in his return to *England*. He assured me that the Villain who murder'd Mr. *Lisle* by shooting him into the Back, is an Irish-man and named *O Crol*; that the Name of his Companion, who waited with a fresh Horse to carry him off, is *Cotter*, and that he is a Native of the same Country; That the Assassin who goes under the Name of *Riardo* is also an Irish-man, and his true Name *Mac Carty*, who having murther'd one Colonel *Dillon* his Country-man at *Paris*, had been

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punished with death, if the Queen-Mother of *England* had not interceeded for him and procured his Pardon, for the good Services he had already done, and others that he promised to do for the time to come. Which Favour that he might farther merit, he went into *Holland* soon after he was discharged from Prison, where he attempted to assassinate one Mr. *Will. Carr*, who having been a Servant to the King, had taken liberty to write some Things that displeased the Court, and on that account had been obliged to retire from *England*.

The King of *France* making great Preparations for War, obtained a new Levy of *Switzers* from the Cantons, and procured six thousand Men to be raised in *England* to be imploy'd in his Service. And that he might divide the Strength of the Empire, and render them incapable of assisting the *Hollanders* when he should think fit to attack them, he sent an Agent into *Hungary* to foment the Discontents of that People who had been invaded in their Privileges, and persecuted for Religion by the influence of the Emperor's bigotted Council. He caused his Brother the Duke of *Orleans* to marry the Daughter of the Elector *Palatine*, and on that account made many large Promises to that Prince which were never performed. He tamper'd with divers other Princes of *Germany*; and knowing that the Elector of *Cologne* had a Design to seize and subvert the Rights and Privileges of that City,

City, he tempted him with Offers of his Assistance. The Court of *England* on their part recalled Sir *William Temple* from his Employment in *Holland*, suspecting him not to favour the French Interest, but rather to be zealously inclined to maintain the Triple Alliance which they were resolved to break, and sent *Downing* to supply his Place who was a much fitter Instrument to carry on the Designs they had on foot. And since my Subject has led me to speak of this Gentleman, I must here acknowledge, That tho' *Downing* had acted contrary to his Faith, former Pretences and Obligations, in betraying our Friends as I mentioned before; yet none of those who remained in *Holland*, or afterwards retired thither were ever molested during his Ministry, which was as much as could reasonably be expected from a Person in his Post. To this was added an Attempt, which for the singularity of the thing deserves to be remember'd. For upon notice that a considerable number of Dutch Men of War were riding in the Channel, the King to procure by any means some Pretences for the intended War, gave Orders to the Commander of a Yacht to pass through the Fleet, and to oblige the Admiral to take down his Flag. The Captain, pursuant to his Instructions sets sail with his Yacht, and encountering the whole Dutch Fleet, who would not be brought to take down the Flag, falls upon them and fired on all sides till his Powder

der and Ball was quite spent. But the Dutch well understanding the design of this Insult, chose rather to suffer patiently the tearing of their Tackle, than to return one Shot. Thus they endeavoured by all means to keep fair Weather with their Neighbours: And that they might prevent the City of *Cologne* from falling into the Hands of those who might make use of it to their Prejudice, they treated with the Magistrates of that Place, and finding them disposed to receive their Assistance, they sent them a Regiment of Foot commanded by Colonel *Bampfild*.

The Canton of *Bern* having raised Two thousand four hundred Men for the Service of the King of *France* in twelve Companies, proceeded to nominate the Officers that were to command ten of them, leaving to that King the nomination of Officers for the other two, according to the Agreement made between them. They stipulated in their Treaty, That none of their Forces should be employ'd against any People of the Reformed Religion; which Condition was readily accepted by the King of *France*, who knew that if he should break with the King of *Spain* or the Emperor, he might use the Protestant *Switzers* against them, whilst those that were furnished by the Popish Cantons should be employ'd against the Dutch. This Contract with *France* was made without consulting the other Cantons, and at a lower rate than had been settled by
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the last Treaty with that Crown ; on which last account chiefly some Members of this Union shewed themselves much disgusted. But upon the whole Matter, tho' I have heard many Arguments brought to justify the way used by the *Switzers* for keeping their People continually exercised to Arms, yet it were to be wish'd, that some Means might be found to cause this Traffick to cease, and to persuade those who have Authority, to examine the Justice of every Cause in which they engage, and not to suffer their Subjects to make a Trade of War. The King of *France* was much displeased with the Government of *Zurich* for refusing to permit any Levies of Men to be made among them at this time ; but he sent Letters of Thanks to those of *Bern* for their ready compliance with his Demands, confirming what had been promised on his part, and offering (as they had desired) his Mediation to compose the Differences between them and the Bishop of *Basle*, with Assurances of his Assistance to constrain the Bishop to accept reasonable Conditions. He promised to maintain them in possession of the *Pais de Veaux*, and to pay all the Arrears of Pensions that should appear to be due to any of them.

In the mean time the Dutch with the utmost diligence prepare to send out their Fleet. They nominated *Michael Adrian de Ruyter* to be their Admiral, and the Heer *Cornelius de*
Wit

Wit to be Commissioner for the States at Sea, allowing a Guard of twelve Halberdiers to attend his Person. They hoped to prevent the Conjunction of the English and French Fleets, but could not : For the English having notice that the Count *D'Estrees*, who commanded the French, was arrived with his Ships at the Isle of *Wight*, found means to join them in that Road, yet not without the loss of one of their Frigats which carried thirty eight Guns, and was taken by the *Zelandia* almost without Resistance, the Seamen being generally unwilling to be employ'd in this War. On the seventh of *June* 1672. the two Fleets engaged near *Solebay*, the French Squadron against Admiral *Bankart* ; the English Blue Squadron commanded by the Earl of *Sandwich*, against the Heer *Van Ghent* Admiral of *Amsterdam* ; and the Red Squadron commanded by the Duke of *York*, against the Dutch Admiral *de Ruyter*. The Fight was bloody, and continued from Eight in the Morning to Sun-set. The French behaved themselves as if they desired to be Spectators rather than Actors in this Tragedy : The Duke of *York* was obliged to shift his Ship, either because she was disabled, or the better to provide for his own Safety. But the greatest Loss fell upon the Blue Squadron, the Admiral of which was burnt by a Dutch Fireship, the Earl of *Sandwich* drown'd, many Volunteers and Officers killed, with a great number

of

of private Seamen. On the Dutch side, the Admiral of *Amsterdam*, the Vice-Admiral of *Zealand*, and Captain *Brakel* were kill'd. Three of *De Wit's* Guards were shot by his side, and a fourth lost both his Legs by a Cannon Ball. After this Fight the French set Sail for *Brest* and the English retired into Port, leaving the Dutch Masters at Sea for that time.

The States of *Holland* well knowing that the Alliance between the English Court and the King of *France* was not at all pleasing to the People of *England*, published a Declaration, to shew that they had been constrained to make War against the King and his private Council, who had designed and endeavoured to deprive them of their Commerce and Liberty, and to render the Crown of *England* absolute and independent. But that they were ready to consent that the People of *England* might Trade freely either with them or others. They discharged and set at Liberty such Ships, Men and Merchandize belonging to the English Nation, as they had seized in their Ports in requital of the Attempt made by the Court of *England* to surprize their Homeward-bound *Smyrna* Fleet, before any Declaration of War had been published against them. These Things obliged the King to promise Restitution of what had been unjustly taken from the Dutch before the date of the said Declaration. But whatever Advantages
the

the Dutch might have by Sea, they were infinitely over-balanced by their Losses at Land.

The King of *France* having drawn together One hundred and twenty thousand effective Men, divided them into three Bodies: The First, consisting of Seventy thousand, he took under his own peculiar Command. At the Head of the Second, which was of Forty thousand, he placed the Prince of *Conde*; and gave about Ten thousand Men more to the Count of *Chamilly* to serve as a Flying Camp. All these Forces directing their march towards *Mastricht*, a Council of War was held in the King's Quarters, and a Debate arising about besieging that Place, it was adjudged to be an Enterprize so full of Hazard and Difficulty by reason of the numerous Garrison and good Fortifications about the Town, that they resolved to turn their march towards the *Rhine*, where the Places were not in so good Condition. Yet it was thought convenient to leave *Chamilly* near *Tongeren* to prevent the Excursions of the Garrison of *Mastricht*, which was done. The two Armies commanded by the King and Prince of *Conde* marched several Days without seeing an Enemy, except only about Two hundred Men who had intrenched themselves on the side of the *Rhine*, and rendered themselves Prisoners after little Resistance. From thence the Prince of *Conde* was sent to besiege *Wesel*, whilst the King besieged *Orsoy*,
and

and the Mareſchal *Turenne Burick*. Theſe three Sieges being undertaken at the ſame time cauſed a general Alarum. But when they ſaw that *Orſoy* had hardly held out twenty four Hours, and that *Burick* and *Weſel* had been ſurrendred in little more than the ſame time, the Conſternation greatly increaſed. The Governor of *Weſel*, which was accounted a ſtrong Place, was ſentenced to loſe his Head; but having ſome Friends about the Prince of *Orange*, the Executioner was order'd only to paſs the Sword over him. The Count *Deſtrades* was, in conſideration of his Services and particular Correſpondencies in *Holland*, made Governor of this Place. *Reez*, *Emerik*, *Beavize* and *Dedekom* follow'd the Example; and an Iriſh-man who commanded at *Rhijnberg*, finding himſelf beſieg'd by the King of *France*, was ſo frightened, that he delivered the Town without a Shot; and was afterwards beheaded for his Cowardice. The King deſigning to paſs the *Yſſel*, in order to attack the Places on the other ſide of that River, communicated his Deſign to the Prince of *Conde* and to the Mareſchal *de Turenne*, who having diſſuaded him from the Attempt as too dangerous, it was reſolved to try to paſs the *Rhine*, which they thought more practicable. In purſuance of this Reſolution, they procured the beſt Advice they could get, and were informed by a Betrayer of his Country, that there was a Place where the

Water was low and the Passage safe: Which being tried and found to be according to the Information, the King expressed more than ordinary Satisfaction, because he could as well enter the Country that way as by the *Yffel*, and fall upon the Enemies Rear. The Dutch suspecting this Place, had already sent an Officer to secure the Passage; but he finding himself too weak, abandoned the Post with the Approbation of the States Deputies; and Lieutenant General *Wurtz* was sent by the Prince of *Orange* with a greater Force. By this means much time was lost, and the King of *France* had leisure to erect Batteries, which gall'd the Horse of *Wurtz* in such a manner, that they found themselves obliged to shelter in the Woods. All Things being prepared by the French, part of a Regiment of Horse passed the River, and were received so warmly by *Wurtz*, that they were forced back into the Water: But being seconded by more of their Companions, they soon became strong enough to make good their Ground, and to put the Dutch Horse to Flight. However in this Passage the Duke of *Longueville* Nephew to the Prince of *Conde* was killed, and the Prince himself wounded in the Wrist by a Musket-ball. After this the French took the Castle of *Tolhuys*, and laid a Bridge of Boats over the *Rhine*; which so terrified the Dutch, that they abandoned all their Intrenchments: So that the King, who had designed

designed to attack them, finding that Work over, repass'd the River, and sent the Marechal *Turenne* to command the Prince of *Conde's* Army during his absence. Then the King resolved to pass the *Yssel*, and was not a little surprized to find the Passage so easy, and quite otherwise than had been represented to him. Having besieg'd and taken *Doesburg*, Deputies arrived in his Camp from *Utrecht*, offering to deliver the Town and Dependencies. The Duke of *Orleans* took *Zutphen* in *Gelderland*; and the King himself advanced to *Utrecht*, having sent a Lieutenant-General with some Troops to take Possession before. Here he received the Dutch Ambassadors who were sent by the States to know upon what Terms he would treat. In the mean time the Marechal *Turenne* possessed himself of *Arnhem*, the Fort of *Knotsemburg* and *Nimeguen*; which last Place was better defended than any other had been. Upon this News the Dutch abandoned *Graven*, which *Turenne* siezed. *Bommel* and the *Sckincken Scans* fell also into the Hands of the French: The Bishop of *Munster* took *Grol* and *Deventer*: And the Marquis de *Roehefort* made himself Master of *Naerden* and some other Places.

This astonishing Success attending the French in every Attempt, drove the common People of *Holland* into Rage and Despair. Disasters came so thick upon them, that they could not discern the Inequality of their Forces

when compared to the united Strength of *France* and *England*. They would not reflect upon the natural Impetuosity of the French Nation, or the suddenness of the Invasion: But in spite to common Sense would needs believe that Men of Republican Principles had conspired to betray the Common-wealth to one or both of the Confederated Monarchs. And tho' I am not concerned to defend those who at that time had the principal part in the Administration of Affairs in *Holland*; yet the King of *England* himself shall be their Compurgator, not only on his own Account, but also in respect of his Brother of *France*. His

Letter written by K. Ch. 2. Words are these: *The Insolencies, and continual Contrivances against me, of certain Persons, who for some time past have had the principal direction of Affairs in the Government of the United Netherlands, have necessitated me to make an Alliance with the Most Christian King, who also has the same Grounds of Complaint against them, having no other end, than to suppress the insupportable Greatness of the Louvestein Faction; and to secure our selves from the like Insults and Affronts for the time to come, &c.* But the People being deaf to all Reason, Things every where tended to Sedition and Tumult; divers of the Clergy, particularly one *Lantman* at the *Hague*, and *Borssius* at *Rotterdam*, exciting the Populace both by Printing and Preaching, against their Governors. In this unhappy State of Affairs it
fell

fell out, that on the 20th of *June* 1672. the Pensionary *John de Wit* coming out of the Council in the *Hague* at eleven a Clock at Night, accompanied only by one Servant who carried a Torch in his Hand, was assaulted by four Persons, wounded, and left for dead. The next Day one of these Assassins by Name *Jacob Vander Graef* was siezed, tried, condemn'd, and in a few days executed, the States of *Holland* judging this Expedition to be absolutely necessary for the Security of their own Persons in the exercise of their Employments. On the 24th of *July* in the same Year *Cornelius de Wit*, ancient Bürger-master of *Dort*, Grand Bailly of *Putten*, and elder Brother to the Pensionary, was brought Prisoner to the *Hague*, upon the Accusation of one *Tichelaar* a Barber-Surgeon, who deposed, That the Prisoner would have hired him to poyson the Prince of *Orange*. He was several times put to the Rack, and constantly asserted his Innocence. Yet he was sentenced to lose his Offices and Dignities, and to be banished for ever from *Holland* and *West-Friesland*. This Sentence being published, caused Men to murmur, as their Passions variously inclined them. Some said that if he were guilty, the Punishment was too little; and if innocent, too much. Others said that he was certainly guilty, because his Judges had set the Accuser at liberty. *Tichelaar* in the mean time went about the *Hague*, and told the Peo-

ple that he had convicted the Grand Bailly ; which Suggestion brought great numbers of them about the Prison-doors. In the mean time his Brother *John de Wit* came in his Coach to take him out of the Prison, upon which one of the Populace cried out, *That now the two Traytors were together , they should not escape.* In this instant a false Report was spread among the People, that some thousands of Boors were coming to plunder the *Hague*, by which means the two Brothers were deprived of all hopes of Safety. For upon this Report, the Guards that been placed by the Council of State about the Prison for the defence of the Prisoner, took occasion to draw off, and left them to the Mercy of the Rabble ; who growing impatient of any farther delay, immediately broke open the doors of the Prison, and divers of them rushed into the Chamber where the two Brothers were. *John de Wit*, who was sitting on the Bed-side with a Book in his Hand, demanded of them what they would have ; and receiving for answer, that they should see if they would go down, he took his Brother by the Hand and led him down to the Street ; where they were no sooner arrived, but the enraged Multitude fell upon them, and with a thousand Wounds most barbarously murder'd them. The Particulars of this Cruelty are so abominable and so exceeding all Example, that I purposely omit any farther mention of this Tragical Story.

The

The King of *France* in pursuance of the Agreement he had made with the Canton of *Bern*, procured the Differences between them and the Bishop of *Basle* to be adjusted according to their Excellencies desire. But that part of the Treaty by which he had promised not to employ their Subjects against any of the Reformed Religion was not so well observed ; for he had used them in the War against the States of *Holland*, and obliged them to serve on all Occasions without distinction, contrary to his Promise, and to the Oath that both Officers and Soldiers had taken before their departure from *Switzerland*. This Usage the *Swiss* Officers and Soldiers resenting, deputed one Monsieur *de Beur* an Officer of their Body to acquaint their Excellencies, That they had been constrained against their Inclinations to do what they had done. Of which the French having notice, they caused him to be seized at *Metz*, where he was put into a Dungeon. And tho' upon the Sollicitation of his Friends in *Switzerland*, their Excellencies desired his Liberty, they could not for some time obtain any more than a better Accommodation for him in the Prison ; the late Successes of *France* having carried that Court to such a height, that they caused a Letter to be written by Monsieur *Stappa* to the Canton of *Bern*, to let them know, That the King accounted himself little obliged to them for the Men they had raised under pretence of serving him ; and

that he was better satisfied with the refusal of the Canton of *Zurich*, than with their Grant which was accompanied with such Restrictions and Regret. The Government of *Bern* finding their Affairs with *France* to be in this uncertain Condition, were doubtful what Measures to take in the Dispute which had been on foot for some time, and still continued between the Duke of *Savoy* and those of *Geneva* on account of a Fort which had been built by the Duke within half a League of that City, under colour of a Magazine for the Vessels he had built, and to secure a Port for their use; positively requiring all those of *Geneva* who possessed Lands within the Jurisdiction of *Savoy*, to hear Mass on pain of Forfeiture. However, the Protestant Cantons having seriously considered the Importance of this Affair, sent to the Duke of *Savoy* to demand, Whether he would have Peace or War, and whether he would in all Things make good the Treaties that had been concluded with them by his Ancestors, or not. But before the Duke had determined what Answer to give to this Message, an Accident happen'd which served to secure those of *Geneva* from any Apprehensions from *Savoy* at that time. For the Duke of *Savoy* having corrupted the Governor of *Savona* (which belongs to the Republick of *Genoa*) and received his Promise to put him into possession of the Place, had raised Forces, and order'd them to

march

march thither. But the Officers not agreeing, either concerning the manner, or the time of putting the Enterprize in execution, it was so long delay'd that the Government of *Genoa* had notice of their March; and suspecting their Design, immediately removed the Governor and changed the Garrison. The Duke finding his Project defeated, was yet unwilling to have it believed that he designed any Clandestine Attempt (for no sort of Men will avow an unsuccessful Treachery) and therefore he published a Declaration of the Reasons that moved him to make War against *Genoa*; which were so slight and trivial, that it plainly appeared he rather sought to cover his Design upon *Savona*, that that he had any just cause of Quarrel to pretend, it being notorious to all Persons concern'd, that the Duke had receiv'd Offers of Satisfaction to the utmost of what he could demand. In consequence of the Declaration his Forces possess'd themselves of *Pieve*, a Place belonging to the *Genoefes*, but of no great Strength or Importance. On the other side, the Government of *Genoa* sent to complain to the King of *France*, That contrary to the Agreement, which he by his Agent had made between the Duke of *Savoy* and them, the Duke's Forces had attacked them in a hostile manner; but yet they omitted not, at the same time, to draw together what Force they could to do themselves right, if other Means should fail. The Duke's Army
finding

finding *Pieve* not to be tenable, quitted the Place and marched to *Castelvecchio*, with intention to fortify it by reason of its advantageous Situation. But the *Genoefes* well knowing the Importance of *Castelvecchio*, drew together about nine thousand Men and seized all the Avenues, before the *Savoyards* had made any Provision for their Subsistence. So that the Governor with about three hundred Officers and Soldiers found no other way to prevent falling into the Hands of the Enemy but by withdrawing privately, which they effected, leaving the rest to shift for themselves, and the next day the *Genoefes* possessed themselves of the Place, killing and taking Prisoners all those that were within. From thence they went to *Oneglia*, resolving to storm the Town by Sea and Land; but the *Savoyards* prevented them, and capitulated to leave both Officers and Soldiers to be Prisoners of War. In these Actions the Marq. of *Parella* with many of the principal Nobility, were taken and carried Prisoners to *Genoa*: Which, with some other Successes obtained by that Commonwealth against the Duke of *Savoy*, obliged him to entertain cooler Thoughts than he had done, and to hasten his Answer to the Demands of the Protestant Cantons; in which he professed, he would have no difference with them, being sincerely desirous of their Friendship; That, indeed, he had been much surprized they should take any Umbrage on account of a

House

House he had built in his own Territories, and interest themselves in the Differences which had happened between him and those of *Geneva*, who, he said, had broken the Treaty of St. *Julian*, which yet for their Excellencies sake, he would observe, as if it were still in full force.

A COL-

A
Collection of Letters,
AND OTHER
P A P E R S
RELATING TO
Divers Important Passages of the
preceding Memoirs.

The King's Letters to the Queen.

I.

Oxford,^{15.} Jan. 9.

Dear Heart,

SINCE my last, which was by *Talbot*, the Scots Commissioners have sent to desire me to send a Commission to the general Assembly in *Edinburgh*, which I am resolved not to do; but to the end of making some use of this occasion, by sending an honest

honest Man to *London*, and that I may have the more time for the making a handfom Negative, I have demanded a Pasfport for *Philip Warwick*, by whom to return my Answer. I forgot in my former to tell thee, that *Lenthall* the Speaker brags, That Cardinal *Mazarin* keeps a strict Intelligence with him; though I will not fwear that *Lenthall* fays true, I am fure it is fit for thee to know. As for *Sabran*, I am confident that either he or his Instructions are not right for him who is eternally thine.

Even now I am advertifed from *London*, That there are three or four Lords, and eight Commons (befides four Scotch Commissioners) appointed to treat, and they have named *Uxbridge* for the Place, though not yet the particular Persons. I am likewise newly advertifed that General *Goring* prospers well where he is, and fince *Monday* laft hath taken 80 of the Rebels Horfe; and upon his advance they have quitted *Peterfield* and *Condry*.

P O S T S C R I P T.

The fetling of Religion, and the Militia, are the firft to be treated on: And be confident, that I will neither quit Epifcopacy, nor that Sword which God hath given into my Hands.

29.

15.

Copy to my Wife, 9 Jan. 1644.

By P. A.

This is a true Copy, examined by

Edm. Prideaux.

Oxford,

II.

31.

Oxford, Sunday 30 March.

Dear Heart,

SINCE my last (which was but three days ago) there are no Alterations hapned of moment, Preparations rather than Actions being yet our chiefest Business, in which we hope that we proceed faster than the Rebels, whose Levies both of Men and Mony (for certain) goes on very slowly; and I believe, they are much weaker than is thought even here at Oxford. For Instance, A very honest Servant of mine, and no Fool, shewed me a Proposition from one of the most considerable London Rebels, who will not let his Name be known until he have hope that his Proposition will take effect; it is this, That since the Treaty is so broken off, that neither the Rebels nor I can resume it without at least a seeming total yielding to the other, the Treaty should be renewed upon thy Motion, with a pre-assurance that the Rebels will submit to Reason. The Answer that I permitted my Servant to give, was, That thou art the much fittest Person to be the means of so happy and glorious a Work as is the Peace of this Kingdom; *but that upon no Terms thy Name was to be prophaned*, therefore he was to be satisfied of the Rebels willingness to yield to Reason, before he would consent that any such intimation should be made to thee, and particularly concerning Religion and the Militia, that nothing must be insisted upon but according to my former Offers. This I believe will come to nothing, yet I cannot but advertise thee of any thing that comes to my knowledge of this consequence.

I must

I must again tell thee, That most assuredly France will be the best way for Transportation of the Duke of Lorrain's Army, there being divers fit and safe Places of landing for them upon the Western Coasts, besides the Ports under my obedience, as Shelfey near Chichester and others, of which I will advertise thee when the time comes.

By my next I think to tell thee when I shall march into the Field, for which Mony is now his greatest want (I need say no more) who is eternally thine.

18.

31.

To my Wife, 30 March, 1645. by Petit.

This is a true Copy, examined by

Edmond Prideaux.

III.

30.

Oxford, Thursday 27 March.

Dear Heart,

I Wrote to thee yesterday by *Sakefield*, the Subject of it was only Kindness to thee; which, I assure thee, shall ever be visible in all my Actions: And now I come to *Fermin's* Account, given me by thy command, which is very clear, hopeful in most Particulars, and absolutely satisfactory as concerning thy Care and Industry. As for the main Impediment in the Duke of Lorrain's Business (which is his Passage) why may thou not procure him Passage through *France*? (if that of *Holland* be stuck at) it will much secure and facilitate the Sea-transportation in respect of landing on the West-
ern

ern Coast, which I believe will be found the best, there being not so many Places to chuse on, any where else. But this an Opinion, not a Direction.

The general Face of my Affairs methinks begins to mend, the Dissensions at *London* rather increasing than ceasing, *Montrosse* daily prospering, my Western Business mending apace, and hopeful in all the rest. So that if I had reasonable Supplies of Mony and Powder (not to exclude any other) I am confident to be in a better condition this Year, than I have been since this Rebellion began; and possibly I may put fair for the whole, and so enjoy thy Company again, without which nothing can be a Contentment unto me. And so farewell Dear Heart.

I intend (if thou like it) to bestow Percies Place on the M. of Newcastle, to whom yet I am no ways engaged, nor will be before I have thy Answer. As for Jack Barclay, I do not remember that I gave thee any hope of making him Master of the Wards: For Cottington had it long ago before thou went hence, and I intended it to Secretary Nich. if he then would have received it; and I am deceived if I did not tell thee of it.

I desire thee to command Lord Jer. to read to thee the D.'s Letter, which goes herewith, and in it to mark well that part concerning the Transportation of the Duke of Lorrain's Army.

23. 30.
To my Wife, 27 Mar. 1645. by P. A.

This is a true Copy, examined by

Miles Corbet.

IV.

39.
Oxford, Sunday 4 May.

Dear Heart,

THE Rebels new brutish General hath refused to meddle with Foreign Passes, so as yet I cannot dispatch *Adrian May* to thee, by the way of *London*, which if I cannot very shortly, I will send him by the West; and now, if I could be assured of thy recovery, I would have but few melancholy Thoughts, for I thank God my Affairs begin to smile upon me again, *Wales* being well swept of the Rebels. *Farrington* having relieved it self; and now being secured by *Goring's* coming, my Nephews likewise having brought me a strong Party of Horse and Foot, these Quarters are so free that I hope to be marching within three or four Days, and am still confident to have the start of the Rebels this Year: I am likewise very hopeful that my Son will shortly be in the Head of a good Army; for this I have the chearful assurance of *Culpeper* and *Hyde*: Of late I have been much pressed to make *Southampton* Master of my Horse, not so much for good Will to him, as out of fear that *Hamilton* might return to a capacity of recosening me; wherein if I had done nothing, both Jealousie and Discontents were like to arise, wherefore I thought fit to put my Nephew *Rupert* in that Place, which will both save me Charge, and stop other Mens Grumblings: I have now no more to say, but praying for and impatiently expecting of good News from thee, I rest eternally thine.

To my Wife, 4 May 1645. By *Malin St. Ravy*.

This is a true Copy, examined by *Edm. Prideaux*.

Oxford,

V.

13.

Oxford, 2 Jan..

Dear Heart,

HAVING decyphered thine which I received yesterday, I was much surprized to find thee blame me for neglecting to write to thee, for indeed I have often complained for want, never mist any occasion of sending to thee ; and I assure thee never any Dispatch went from either of my Secretaries without one from me, when I knew of it.

“ As for my calling those at *London* a Parliament, I shall refer thee to *Digby* for particular Satisfaction ; this in general ; If there had been but two (besides my Self) of my Opinion ; I had not done it ; and the Argument that prevailed with me , was , That the calling did no ways acknowledge them to be a Parliament, upon which condition and construction I did it and no otherways, and accordingly it is registred in the Council-books , with the Councils unanimous approbation ; but thou wilt find, that it was by misfortune not neglect that thou hast been no sooner advertised of it.

As for the conclusion of thy Letter, it would much trouble me, if thou didst not know, thy desire granted before it was asked ; yet I wonder not at it, since that which may bear a bad construction, hath been presented to thee in the ugliest form, not having received the true reason and meaning of it ; the fear of some such mischance made me the more careful to give thee a full account by *Tom. Eliot*, of the Reasons of the D. of R. and E. of S. Journey to *London*, which if it come soon enough I am confident

fidest will free thee from much trouble; but if thou hast not the patience to forbear judging harshly of my Actions, before thou hearest the Reasons of them from me, thou may'st be often subject to be doubly vexed, first with Slanders, then with having given too much Ear unto them. To conclude, esteem me as thou findest me constant to those Grounds thou leav'st me withal, and so farewell Dear Heart.

21. 13.
Copy to my Wife, 2 Jan. 1645. by P. A.

4.
This is a true Copy, examined by

Edm. Prideaux.

VI.

21.
Oxford, 19 Feb. O. S.

Dear Heart,

I Cannot yet send thee any certain Word concerning the issue of our Treaty; only, the unreasonable stubbornness of the Rebels, gives daily less and less hopes, of any accommodation this way; wherefore I hope no Rumors shall hinder thee from hastning all thou may'st, all possible assistance to me, and particularly that of the Duke of *Lorrains*; concerning which I received yesterday good News from Dr. *Goffe*, That the Prince of *Orange* will furnish Shipping for his Transportation, and that the rest of his Negotiation goes hopefully on; by which, and many other ways, I find thy Affection so accompanied with dexterity,

as

as I know not whether (in their several kinds) to esteem most; but I will say no more of this, lest thou may think that I pretend to do this way what is but possible to be done by the continued actions of my Life; tho' I leave News to others, yet I cannot but tell thee, That even now I have received certain Intelligence of a great Defeat given to *Argyle* by *Montrose*; who upon surprize totally routed those Rebels, and killed 1500 upon the Place. Yesterday I received thine of 27 Jan. by the *Portugal* Agent, the only way (but Expresses) I am confident on, either to receive Letters from thee, or to send them to thee; indeed *Sabran* sent me word yesterday, besides *some Complements of the Imbargo of the Rebels Ships in France*, (*which I likewise put upon thy score of kindness*) but is well enough content that the *Portugal* should be charged with thy Dispatches. As for trusting the Rebels either by going to *London*, or disbanding my Army before a Peace, do no ways fear my hazarding so cheaply or foolishly: For I esteem the interest thou hast in me at a far dearer rate, and pretend to have a little more Wit (at least by the Sympathy that is betwixt us) then to put my self into the reverence of perfidious Rebels. So impatiently expecting the Express thou hast promised me, I rest eternally thine.

I can now assure thee, That Hertogen the Irish Agent, is an errant Knave, which shall be made manifest to thee by the first opportunity of sending Pacquets.

II.

21.

To my Wife, 19 Feb. 1645. by P. A.

4.

This is a true Copy, examined by
Edmond Prideaux.

VII.

20.

Dear Heart,

THE expectation of an Express from thee (as I find by thine of the 4 Febr.) is very good News to me, as likewise that thou art now well satisfied with my diligence in writing. As for our Treaty, there is every day less hopes than other, that it will produce a Peace. But I will absolutely promise thee, That if we have one, it shall be such as shall invite thy return. For I avow, That without thy Company I can neither have Peace nor Comfort within my self. The limited Days for treating, are now almost expired without the least agreement upon any one Article. Wherefore I have sent for enlargement of Days, that the whole Treaty may be laid open to the World. And I assure thee, that thou needst not doubt the issue of this Treaty; for my Commissioners are so well chosen, (though I say it) that they will neither be threatned nor disputed from the Grounds I have given them; which (upon my word) is according to the little Note thou so well remembers. And in this not only their obedience, but their judgments concur. I confess in some respects thou hast reason to bid me beware of going too soon to London: For indeed some amongst us had a greater mind that way than was fit; of which Persuasion Percy is one of the chief, who is shortly like to see thee, of whom having said this, is enough to shew thee how he is to be trusted, or believed by thee concerning our Proceedings here. In short, there is little or no appearance but that this Summer will be the hottest for War of any that hath been yet: And be confident, that in making Peace, I shall

shall ever shew my constancy in adhering to Bishops, and all our Friends, and not forget to put a short period to this perpetual Parliament. But as thou loves me, let none persuade thee to slacken thine assistance for him who is eternally thine, C. R.

15. 4.
Oxford, 25 Feb. 1645.

3. 20.

To my Wife, 15 Feb. 1645. by P. A.

This is a true Copy, examined by Edmond Prideaux.

VIII.

22.

Dear Heart,

NOW is come to pass what I foresaw, the fruitless end (as to a present Peace) of this Treaty; but I am still confident, that I shall find very good effects of it: For besides that my Commissioners have offered, to say no more, full measured Reason, and the Rebels have stuck rigidly to their Demands, which I dare say had been too much tho' they had taken me Prisoner, so that assuredly the breach will light foully upon them. We have likewise at this time discovered, and shall make it evidently appear to the World, That the *English* Rebels, (whether basely or ignorantly, will be no very great difference) have as much as in them lies, transmitted the command of *Ireland* from the Crown of *England* to the Scots, which (besides the reflection it will have upon these Rebels) will clearly shew, that Reformation of the Church is not the chief, much less the only end of the Scotch Rebellion; but it being Presumption, and no Piety, so to trust to a good cause, as not to use *all lawful means*

means to maintain it , I have thought of one means more to furnish thee with for my assistance, than hitherto thou hast had: It is that I give thee Power to promise in my Name (to whom thou thinkest most fit) that I will take away all the Penal Laws against the Roman Catholicks in England as soon as God shall enable me to do it ; so as by their means, or in their favours, I may have so powerful assistance as may deserve so great a Favour, and enable me to do it. But if thou ask what I call that Assistance ; I answer, that when thou knowest what may be done for it, it will be easily seen, if it deserve to be so esteemed. I need not tell thee what Secrecy this Business requires ; yet this I will say, that this is the greatest point of Confidence I can express to thee ; for it is no Thanks to me to trust thee in any thing else but in this which is the only thing of difference in Opinion betwixt us ; *And yet I know thou wilt make as good a Bargain for me, even in this.* I trusting thee (tho' it concern Religion) as if thou wert a Protestant, the visible good of my Affairs so much depending on it. I have so fully intrusted this Bearer *Pooly*, that I will not say more to thee now, but that herewith I send thee a new Cypher (assuring thee, that none hath or shall have any Copy of it but my self) to the end thou may'st use it, when thou shalt find fit to write any thing which thou wilt judge worthy of thy Pains to put in Cypher, and to be decyphered by none but me ; and so likewise from him to thee, who is eternally thine.

20.

23.

To my Wife, the 5 March, 1645. by *Pooly*.

4.

This is a true Copy, examined by
Edmond Prideaux.

The

IX.

The little that is here in
Cypher, is in that which
I sent to thee by *Pooly*.

33.

Oxford, Wed. 9 April 1645,

Dear Heart,

THough it be an uncomfortable thing to write by a slow Messenger, yet all occasions, of this (which is now the only) way of conversing with thee, are so welcome to me as I shall be loath to lose any; but expect neither News or publick Business from me, by this way of conveyance; yet judging thee by my self even these nothings will not be unwelcome to thee, though I should chide thee, which if I could I would do, for thy too sudden taking Alarms; I pray thee consider, since I love thee above all earthly things, and that my contentment is unseparably conjoyned with thine, must not all my Actions tend to serve and please thee? *If thou knew what a Life I lead, (I speak not in respect of the common distractions) even in point of Conversation, which in my mind is the chief joy or vexation of ones Life, I dare say thou would pity me; for some are too wise, others too foolish, some too busie, others too reserved, many fantastick. In a word, when I know none better (I speak not now in relation to Business) then 3 9 8. 270.55:5:7:67:18. 294:35:69: 16:54:6:38:1: 67: 68: 9: 66: thou may easily judge how my Conversation pleaseth me. I confess thy company hath perhaps made me in this hard to be pleased, but not less to be pitied by thee, who art the only cure for this Disease. The end of all is this, to desire thee to comfort me as often as thou can with thy Letters, and dost not thou think, that to know particulars*
of

of thy Health, and how thou spendest the time, are pleasing Subjects unto me, though thou hast no other Business to write of? Believe me, sweet Heart, thy Kindness is as necessary to comfort my Heart, as thy assistance is for my Affairs.

To my Wife 9 April, 1645. by Binion.

This is a true Copy examined by

Miles Corbet.

X.

Oxford, Thursday 20 March.

Dear Heart,

UPon *Saturday* last I wrote to thee by *Sabran* (but this I believe may come as soon to thee) and I have received thine of the seventh, upon *Munday* last, which gave me great contentment both in present and expectation, (the quick Passage being likewise a welcome Circumstance) and yet I cannot but find a fault of omission in most of thy latter Dispatches, there being nothing in them concerning thy Health. For though I confess, that in this no News is good News, yet I am not so satisfied without a more perfect assurance; and I hope thou wilt by satisfying me confess the justness of this my exception. I am now full fraught with expectation (I pray God send me a good unlading) for I look daily for some blow of importance to be given about *Taunton* or *Shrewsbury*; and I am confidently assured of a considerable and sudden supply of Men from *Ireland*, likewise the refractory Horse (as the *London* Rebels call them) may be reckoned in,

in, for yet it is not known what fomenters they have, or whether they have none ; if the latter, there is the more hope of gaining them to me ; howsoever I doubt not, but if they stand out (as it is probable) good use may be made of them. Of this I believe to give thee a perfecter account next Week, having sent to try their Pulses ; *Petit* came yesterday, but he having at *London* thrust his Dispatches into the States Ambassadors Paquets, I have not yet received them, and I would not stay to lengthen this in answer of them, nor give thee half hopes of good Western News, knowing of an opportunity for writing to thee within these three or four Days ; only I congratulate with thee for the safe arrival of thy Tinn adventure at *Callis* : And so farewell Sweet Heart.

Thine of the 10th I have newly received, whereby I find that thou much mistakes me concerning *Ir.* for I desire nothing more than Peace there, and never forbad thy commerce there ; only I gave thee warning of some *Irish* in *France*, whom I then thought, and now know to be Knaves.

To my Wife 20 of March 164 $\frac{3}{4}$. by P. A.

This is a true Copy, examined by

Edm. Prideaux.

Droit

XI.

Droit Wiche, Wednesday 14 May.

Dear Heart,

MArching takes away the conveniency of sending my Letters so safe and quick to thee, as when I was at *Oxford*; however I shall not fail to do what I can to send often to thee; there is so little News for the present, as I will leave that Subject for others, only upon *Saturday* last I received a Dispatch from *Montrose*, which assures me his Condition to be so good, that he bids me be confident that his Country-men shall do me no great harm this year; and if I could lend him but 500 Horse, he would undertake to bring me 20000 Men before the end of this Summer. For the general state of my Affairs we all here think to be very hopeful; this Army being of a good strength, well ordered, and increasing; my Sons such, that *Fairfax* will not be refused to be fought with, of which I hope thou wilt receive good Satisfaction from himself. Its true that I cannot brag for store of Mony, but a sharp Sword always hinders starving at least; and I believe the Rebels Coffers are not very full (and certainly we shall make as good a shift with empty Purfes as they) or they must have some greater defect, else their Levies could not be so backward as they are, for I assure thee that I have at this instant many more Men in the Field then they. I am not very confident what their Northern Forces are, but except they are much stronger then I am made believe, I may likewise include them.

Now

Now I must make a complaint to thee of my Son Charles, which troubles me the more, that thou maist suspect I seek by equivocating to hide the Breach of my Word, which I hate above all things, especially to thee: It is this, he hath sent to desire me, That Sir John Greenfield may be sworn Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, but already so publickly ingaged in it, that the refusal would be a great disgrace both to my Son and the young Gentleman, to whom it is not fit to give a just distaste, especially now, considering his Fathers Merits, his own Hopefulness, besides the great Power that Family has in the West: Yet I have refused the admitting of him until I shall hear from thee. Wherefore I desire thee first to chide my Son for ingaging himself without one of our Consents; then, not to refuse thy own Consent; and lastly, to believe that directly or indirectly, I never knew of this while yesterday at the delivery of my Son's Letter. So farewell, Sweet Heart, and God send me good News from thee.

To my Wife, May 14, 1645.

This is a true Copy, examined by

Miles Corbet.

XII.

Dear Heart,

I Know thy Affection to me so truly grounded, that thou wilt be in as much (if not more) trouble to find my Reputation, as my Life in Danger: Therefore least the false sound of my offering a Treaty to the Rebels upon base and unsafe
Terms

Terms should disturb thy Thoughts, I have thought it necessary (to assure thy Mind from such Rumours) to tell thee the ways I have used to come to a Treaty, and upon what Grounds. I shall first shew thee my Grounds, to the end thou may the better understand and approve of my ways ; Then know (as a certain truth) that all, even my Party, are strangely impatient for Peace, which obliged me so much the more (at all occasions) to shew my real intentions to Peace ; *And likewise I am put in very good hope (some hold it a certainty) that if I could come to a fair Treaty, the Ring-leading Rebels could not hinder me from a good Peace : First, because their own Party are most weary of the War, and likewise for the great Distractions which at this time most assuredly are amongst themselves, as Presbyterians against Independants in Religion, and General against General in point of Command : Upon these Grounds a Treaty being most desirable (not without hope of good success) the most probable means to procure it was to be used, which might stand with Honour and Safety ; amongst the rest (for I will omit all those which are unquestionably counselable) the sound of my return to London was thought to have so much force of popular Rhetorique in it, that upon it a Treaty would be had, or if refused, it would bring much Prejudice to them, and be Advantageous to me ; yet least foolish or malicious People should interpret this, as to proceed from Fear or Folly, I have joined Conditions with the Proposition (without which this sound will signifie nothing) which thou wilt find to be most of the chief Ingredients of an honourable and safe Peace. Then observe, if a Treaty at London with Commissioners for both sides may be had without it, it is not to be used ; nor, in case they will treat with no Body but my Self, so that the Conditions save any aspersions of Dishonour, and the Treating at London the Malignity*

nity which our Factious Spirits here may infuse into this Treaty upon this Subject. This I hope will secure thee from the trouble which otherwise may be caused by false malicious Rumours; and though I judge my self secure in thy Thoughts, from suspecting me guilty of any Baseness, yet I held this account necessary, to the end thou may make others know, as well as thy self, this certain Truth, That no danger of Death or Misery (which I think much worse) shall make me do any thing unworthy of thy Love. For the state of my present Affairs I refer thee to 92. concluding (as I did in my last to thee) by conjuring thee, as thou lovest me, that no appearance of Peace (and now I add) nor hopeful Condition of mine, make thee neglect to haste Succour for him who is eternally thine.

Copy to my Wife, Decemb. 1644. by Tom. Elliot.

This is a true Copy, examined by

Edm. Prideaux.

XIII.

Oxford, 13 March, Old-Style.

Dear Heart,

What I told thee the last Week concerning a good parting with our Lords and Commons here, was on *Munday* last handsomly performed; and now if I do any thing unhandsome or disadvantageous to my Self or Friends, in order to a Treaty, it will be meerly my own Fault, for I confess

feels when I wrote last, I was in fear to have been pressed to make some mean overtures to renew the Treaty, (knowing that there were great labourings to that purpose :) But now I promise thee, *If it be renewed, (which I believe will not without some eminent good success on my side) it shall be to my Honour and Advantage, I being now as well freed from the place of base and mutinous Motions (that is to say, our Mungrel Parliament here) as of the chief Causers, for whom I may justly expect to be chidden by thee, for having suffered thee to be vexed by them, Wilmot being already there, Percy on his way, and Suffex within few Days taking his Journy to thee.* But that I know, thou carest not for a little trouble to free me from great inconveniences, yet I must tell thee, That if I knew not the perfect steadiness of thy Love to me, I might reasonably apprehend that their repair to thee would rather prove a change than an end of their Villanies ; and I cannot deny, but my Confidence in thee, was some cause of this permissive trouble to thee.

I have received thine of the third of *March*, by which thou puts me in hope of assistance of Men and Mony, and it is no little expression of thy Love to me, that (because of my Business) Festivals are troublesome to thee, *But I see that Assemblies in no Countries are very agreeable to thee*, and it may be done a purpose to make thee weary of their Companies, and excuse me to tell thee in earnest, that it is no wonder, that meer Statesmen should desire to be rid of thee ; therefore I desire thee to think whether it would not advantage thee much to make a personal Friendship with the Queen Regent, (without shewing any distrust of her Ministers, though not wholly trusting to them) and to shew her, That when her Regency comes out (and possibly before) she may have need of her Friends,

so

so that she shall but serve her self by helping of thee; and to say no more, but certainly if this Rebellion had not begun to oppress me when it did, a late great Queen had ended more glorious then she did. In the last place I desire thee, to give me a Weekly account of thy Health, for I fear least in that alone thou takest not care enough to express thy Kindness to him who is eternally thine.

The *Northern News* is rather better than what we first heard, for what by Sir *Marmaduke Langdales*, and *Montrosses* Victories, *Carlile* and the rest of our *Northern Garrisons* are relieved, and we hope for this Year secured, and besides all this, the *Northern Horse* are already returned and joyned with my Nephew *Rupert*.

To my Wife, 13 March, 1647.

By P. A. This a true Copy examined by

Edm. Prideaux.

XIV.

Daintrey, Sunday 8 June.

Dear Heart,

O*xford* being free, I hope this will come sooner to thee then otherwise I could have expected, which makes me believe, that my good News will not be very stale, which in short is this, Since the taking of *Leicester*, my marching down hither to relieve *Oxford*, made the Rebels raise their Siege
T before

before I could come near them, having had their Quarters once or twice beaten up by that Garrison, and lost four hundred Men at an Assault before *Bostoll-House* ; at first I thought they would have fought with me, being marched as far as *Brackley*, but are since gone aside to *Brick-hill*, so as I believe they are weaker then they are thought to be ; whether by their Distractions, (which are certainly very great,) *Fairfax* and *Browne* having been at *Cudgels*, and his Men and *Cromwell's* likewise at *Blows* together, where a Captain was slain, or wasting their Men, I will not say : Besides, *Goring* hath given a great defeat to the *Western* Rebels, but I do not yet know the Particulars ; wherefore I may (without being too much Sanguine) affirm, That (since this Rebellion) my Affairs were never in so fair and hopeful a way, though among our selves we want not our own Follies, which is needless, and I am sure tedious to tell thee, but such as I am confident shall do no harm, nor much trouble me : Yet I must tell thee, that it is thy Letter by *Fitz Williams*, assuring me of thy perfect recovery with thy wonted Kindness, which make me capable of taking contentment in these good Successes ; *For as divers Men purpose several Recompences to themselves for their pains and hazard in this Rebellion ; so thy Company is the only reward I expect and wish for.*

To my Wife 9 June, 1645.

This is a true Copy, examined by

Miles Corbet.

Dear

XV.

Dear Heart,

Sunday last I received three Letters from thee ; one a Duplicate of the 30 *Decemb.* another of the 6 *Jan.* and the last of the 14 *Jan.* and even now one *Petit* is come with a Duplicate of the last ; wherein, as I infinitely joy in the Expressions of thy confident love of me , so I must extreamly wonder , that any who pretends to be a Friend to our Cause, (for I believe thou wouldest not mention any information from the other side) can invent such Lies, that thou hast had ill Offices done to me by any ; or that thy care for my assistance hath been the least suspected, it being so far from Truth, that the just contrary is true. For I protest to God I never heard thee spoken of, but with the greatest Expressions of estimation for thy Love to me, and particularly for thy diligent care for my assistance : But I am confident that it is a Branch of that Root of Knavery which I am now digging at, and of this I have more then a bare suspicion : And indeed, if I were to find fault with thee, it should be for not taking so much care of thine own Health as of my Assistance, at least not giving me so often account of it as I desire ; these three last, making no mention of thy self. Now as for the Treaty (which begins this day) I desire thee to be confident, that I shall never make a Peace by abandoning my Friends, nor such a one as will not stand with my Honour and Safety ; of which I will say no more, because, knowing thy Love, I am sure thou must believe me, and make others likewise confident of me.

I fend thee herewith my Directions to my Commissioners, but how I came to make them my self without any others, *Digby* will tell thee, with all the News, as well concerning Military as Cabalistical Matters. At this time I will say no more, but that I shall in all Things (only not answering for Words) truly shew my self to be eternally thine.

The *Portugal* Agent hath made me two Propositions, first, concerning the release of his Master's Brother, for which I shall have 50000 *l.* if I can procure his liberty from the King of *Spain* ; the other is for a Marriage betwixt my Son *Charles* and his Master's eldest Daughter: For the first I have freely undertaken to do what I can, and for the other, I will give such an Answer, as shall signify nothing.

I desire thee not to give too much credit to *Sabran's* Relations , nor much countenance to the Irish Agents in *Paris* ; the particular Reasons thou shalt have by *Pooley*, (whom I intend for my next Messenger.) In the last place I recommend to thee the care of *Fersey* and *Gernsey*, it being impossible for us here to do much, tho' we were rich, being weak at Sea.

To my Wife, 30 Jan. 164 $\frac{4}{5}$. by *Legge*.

This is a true Copy, examined by

Edm. Prideaux.

Ormond,

XVI.

Ormond,

THE impossibility of preserving my Protestant Subjects in *Ireland*, by a continuation of the War, having moved me to give you those Powers and Directions; Which I have formerly done for the concluding of a Peace there, and the same growing daily much more evident, that alone were reason enough for me, to enlarge your Powers, and to make my Commands in the point more positive. But besides these Considerations, it being now manifest that the English Rebels have (as far as in them lies) given the Command of *Ireland* to the Scots; that their aim is at a total Subversion of Religion and Regal Power, and that nothing less will content them, or purchase Peace here, I think my self bound in Conscience, not to let slip the means of settling that Kingdom (if it may be) fully under my Obedience; nor to lose that Assistance which I may hope from my Irish Subjects, for such Scruples as in a less pressing condition might reasonably be stuck at by me: For their Satisfaction, I do therefore command you to conclude a Peace with the Irish, whatever it cost, so that my Protestant Subjects there may be secured, and my Regal Authority preserved; But for all this, you are to make me the best Bargain you can, and not discover your enlargement of Power till you needs must. And though I leave the managing of this great and necessary Work entirely to you, yet I cannot but tell you, That if the suspension of Poining's Act for such Bills as shall be agreed upon between you there, and the present taking away of the Penal Laws against Papists, by a Law will do it, I shall not think it a hard Bargain; so that freely and vigorously they engage themselves in my assistance

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against

against my Rebels of England and Scotland, for which no Conditions can be too hard, not being against Conscience or Honour.

Copy to Ormond, 27 Febr. 164 $\frac{4}{3}$.

A true Copy, Zouch Tate.

XVII.

To O R M O N D.

Oxford, 16 Feb. 1644.

Ormond,

I Should wrong my own Service, and this Gentleman Sir *Timothy Fetherston*, if I did not recommend him and his Business to you ; for the Particulars of which I refer you to *Digby*: And now again I cannot but mention to you the necessity of the hastening of the Irish Peace, for which I hope you are already furnished by me, with Materials sufficient: But in case (against all expectation and reason) Peace cannot be had upon those Terms, you must not by any means fall to a new Rupture with them, but continue the Cessation (according to a Postscript in a Letter by *Jack Barry* (a Copy of which Dispatch I herewith send you). So I rest.

P O S T S C R I P T.

In case upon particular Men's Fancies, the Irish Peace should not be procured, upon Powers I have already given you, I have thought good to give you this

this further Order (which I hope will prove needless) to seek to renew the Cessation for a year, for which *you shall promise the Irish* (if you can have it no cheaper) *to join with them against the Scots and Inchequin*; for I hope by that time my Condition may be such, as the Irish may be glad to accept less, *or I be able to grant more.*

A true Copy. *Zouch Tate.*

XVIII.

To O R M O N D.

Oxford, 7 Jan. 164th.

Ormond,

UPON the great Rumors and Expectations which are now of Peace, I think it necessary to tell you the true state of it, lest mistaken Reports from hence might trouble my Affairs there.

“ The Rebels here have agreed to Treat; and
 “ most assuredly, one of the first and chief Articles
 “ they will insist on, will be, to continue the Irish
 “ War; *which is a point not popular for me to break on;*
 “ of which you are to make a double use: First,
 “ to hasten (with all possible diligence) the Peace
 “ there; the timely conclusion of which will take
 “ off that Inconvenience which otherways I may be
 “ subject to, by the refusal of that Article, upon
 “ any other Reason. Secondly, by dextrous con-
 “ veying to the Irish, the danger there may be of
 “ their total and perpetual exclusion from those

“ Favours I intend them, in case the Rebels here
 “ clap up a Peace with me, upon reasonable Terms,
 “ and only exclude them; which possibly were not
 “ councilable for me to refuse, if the Irish Peace
 “ should be the only difference betwixt us, before
 “ it were perfected there: These I hope are sufficient
 “ Grounds for you to persuade the Irish diligently
 “ to dispatch a Peace upon reasonable Terms, as-
 “ suring them that you having once fully engaged
 “ to them my Word (in the conclusion of a Peace)
 “ all the Earth shall not make me break it.

“ But not doubting of a Peace, I must again re-
 “ member you to press the Irish for their speedy
 “ assistance to me here, and their Friends in *Scot-*
 “ *land*: My intention being to draw from thence
 “ into *Wales* (the Peace once concluded) as many
 “ as I can of my armed Protestant Subjects, and
 “ desire that the Irish would send as great a Body
 “ as they can to land about *Cumberland*, which will
 “ put those Northern Counties in a brave condi-
 “ tion; wherefore you must take speedy order to
 “ provide all the Shipping you may, as well *Dun-*
 “ *kirk* as *Irish* Bottoms; and remember that after
 “ *March* it will be most difficult to transport Men
 “ from *Ireland* to *England*, the Rebels being Masters
 “ of the Seas: So expecting a diligent and particu-
 “ lar account in answer to this Letter, I rest

Your most assured constant Friend,

CHARLES R.

A true Copy. *Zouch Tate.*

XIX.

To O R M O N D.

15 Decemb. 1644.

Ormond,

I AM sorry to find by Colonel Barry the sad condition of your particular Fortune, for which I cannot find so good and speedy Remedy as the Peace of Ireland, it being likewise to redress most necessary Affairs here; wherefore I command you to dispatch it out of hand, for the doing of which I hope my publick Dispatch will give you sufficient Instruction and Power; yet I have thought it necessary for your more Encouragement in this necessary Work, to make this addition with my own Hand. As for *Poining's Act* I refer you to my other Letter: And for Matter of Religion, tho' I have not found it fit to take publick notice of the Paper which *Brown* gave you, yet I must command you to give him, my *L. Muskery*, and *Plunket* particular thanks for it, assuring them that without it, there could have been no Peace; and that sticking to it, their Nation in general, and they in particular shall have comfort in what they have done, and to shew that this is more then Words, I do hereby promise them, (and command you to see it done) that the Penal Statutes against Roman Catholiques shall not be put in Execution, the Peace being made, and they remaining in their due Obedience; and further, that when the Irish give me that Assistance which they have promised, for the Suppression of this Rebellion, and I shall be restored to my Rights, then I will consent to the Repeal of them by a Law; but all those against Appeals

to Rome, and *Premunire* must stand: All this in Cypher you must impart to none, but those three already named, and that with Injunction of strictest Secrefie: So again, recommending to your care the speedy dispatch of the Peace of *Ireland*, and my necessary supply from thence, as I wrote to you in my last private Letter, I rest.

A true Copy. *Zouche Tate.*

XX.

The Earl of Glamorgan's Instructions to me, to be presented to Your Majesty.

THat (God willing) by end of *May*, or beginning of *June*, he will Land with 6000 *Irish*.

That the Gentlemen of the several Counties of *Monmouth*, *Glamorgan*, *Brecknock*, and *Carmarthen*, will very speedily for Your Majesty's Service in securing these Parts, raise and arm four thousand Men.

That with the Ships which shall bring over the *Irish*, his Lordship designs to block up *Milford Haven*, at which time he doubts not to draw these *Welch* Forces into *Pembrock-shire*.

That to advance these his Undertakings, he hath Thirty thousand Pounds ready, Ten thousand Muskets, Two thousand Case of Pistols, Eight hundred Barrels of Powder; besides, his own Artillery, and is ascertained of Thirty thousand Pounds more which will be ready upon his return.

That he hath intelligence from his Ships, that divers *Hollanders* and *Dunkirkers* come in daily to him.

In Order to this Service, he commanded me humbly to put Your Majesty in mind of his Commission, and that he may in fitting time have such Command in these Counties as may be suitable to his Employment, and conducing to the Service in hand : These being Counties in which (if other designs of Landing fail) he can Land in ; And that Your Majesty will seriously consider the Services he hath done you in composing the Distractions of the County of *Monmouth* : And that you will be pleased to countenance Sir *Thomas Lunsford*, and graciously relieve the Country in such things, as without prejudicing your Service may ease them.

Concerning the County of Monmouth only.

That by his Lordship's means (who hath now raised two Regiments himself ;) Sir *Thomas Lunsford*'s Forces will be One thousand eight hundred Foot, and Seven hundred Horse, which Horse is intended to be Quartred in the Forrest of *Dean*, in places of secure Quartering, as *Langot*, attempted to have been taken by Sir *John Winter*, a place of great concernment, both for the reducing the Forrest, and securing *Monmouth-shire*.

That by his Lordship's Intervention and Endeavours, Your Majesty really sees he hath much qualified the Sense of the Grievances of the County, and moderated their Complaints by subducing the intended Petition, and therefore hopes Your Majesty will so specially commend their humble sute to Prince *Rupert*, as it may be successful.

That though the Prayer of their Petition is to reduce the contribution to the proportion set by the

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the Parliament at *Oxford*, yet his Lordship hath so wrought, as these Petitioners have under their Hands obliged themselves to continue the double payment for two Months more, and doubts not but in relation to the Exigence of your Majesty's Service to prevail for further time.

His humble Sute is, That I may carry with me into the Country Your Majesty's Order, that the Forces of Sir *Thomas Lunsford* may not be removed, but upon urgent Occasion, until his Return ; And that only upon Your Majesty's or Prince *Rupert*'s special Order ; otherwise it will be a great Obstruction and Discouragement in raising or continuing the Number proposed.

That Your Majesty will be pleased in their Favour, to write your Letter to Prince *Rupert*, and that the Country may have the Honour to present it, to the end they may be eased of Free Quarter, Exactions above their Contribution, and unnecessary Garrisons, that *Chepstow* and *Monmouth* may be the better strengthened.

That Sir *Thomas Lunsford* may be qualified with Authority, to protect them according to such Order as the Prince shall make.

March 21

1644.

These presented by your

Loyal Subject

Edward Bosdon.

This a true Copy. *Zouche Tate.*

Colonel

XXI.

Colonel Fitz-William humbly prays, and propounds to the Queen as followeth.

THat Your Sacred Majesty will vouchsafe to prevail with His Majesty, to condescend to the just demands of his *Irish* Subjects, the Confederate Catholicks in His Majesty's Kingdom of *Ireland*, at least in private.

That upon the Consideration thereof, Colonel *Fitz-William* humbly propounds and undergoeth (with the approbation of Mr. *Hardegan*, now employed Agent for the said Confederate Catholicks in *France*) to bring an Army of Ten thousand Men, and more of His Majesty's Subjects in his Kingdom of *Ireland*, for His Majesty's Service into *England*.

That Colonel *Fitz-William* undertakes for the sum of Ten thousand pound Sterl. to Levy, Ship, and Arm the said Ten thousand Men, and so proportionably for more or less; and that the said Mony may be put into such Hands as may be safe for His Majesty, as well as ready for the Colonel, when it shall appear the said Army shall be in a readiness to be transported into *England*.

That upon the Landing the said Men, there shall be advanced to the Colonel one Months Pay for all the Army, according to the Muster, for the present support of the Army.

That Colonel *Fitz-William* may be Commander in Chief thereof, and dispose of all the Offices, and only be commanded by His Majesty, his Highness the Prince of *Wales*, and Prince *Rupert*, and qualified with such Commissions as hath been formerly granted to His Majesty's Generals that have Com-
manded

manded Bodies apart from His Majesty's own Army, as the Marquis of *Newcastle*, the Earl of *Kingston* and others, hereby the better to enable him in the Levies as well as in the general Conduct of the Business; and that in respect the Parliament gives no Quarter to His Majesty's *Irish* Subjects, therefore that the said Forces shall not by any Order whatsoever be divided.

That the Colonel may be supplied with a Body of Horse, of at least Two thousand, to be ready at the place of Landing.

That the Colonel may be provided with Ammunition and Artillery, or with Money requisite for himself to provide necessary Proportions to bring with him.

That the Army shall be paid as other Armies of His Majesty.

Having taken these Propositions into Consideration, We have thought fit to testify our Approbation and Agreement thereunto under our Sign Manual, assuring what hath been desired of us therein, shall be forthwith effectually endeavoured, and not doubting to the Satisfaction of the Confederate *Catholicks* of His Majesty's Kingdom of *Ireland*, and to the said Colonel *Fitz-William*, so that we may justly expect an agreeable Compliance and Performance accordingly from all Parties in these several Concernments.

This is a true Copy of the Original sent by
Her Majesty to the King, *May 16, 1645.*

A. Lowly, Secretary to the Right Honorable the Lord *Jermine*.

A true Copy. *Zouche Tate.*

XXII.

To my Wife, 14 Jan. 164 $\frac{1}{2}$. by Choquer.

Dear Heart,

POoly came the $\frac{12}{22}$ Jan. to whose great dispatch, though for some Days I cannot give a full Answer, I cannot but at this Opportunity reply to something in thy Letter, not without relating to something of his Discourse.

As I confess it a Mis-fortune (but deny it a Fault) thy not hearing oftner from me, so excuse me to deny that it can be of so ill consequence as thou mentions, if their Affections were so real, as they make shew of to thee; for the difficulty of sending is known to all, and the numbers of each Letter will shew my diligence, and certainly there goes no great-Wit to find out ways of sending, wherefore if any be neglected more, then our Wits are faulty; but to imagine that it can enter into the thought of any Flesh living, that any body here should hide from thee what is desired that every one should know (excuse me to say it) is such a folly, that I shall not believe that any can think it though he say it: And for my Affection to thee, it will not be the miscarrying of a Letter or two that will call it in question; but take heed that these Discourses be not rather the effect of their weariness of thy Company, then the true Image of their Thoughts; and of this is not the proposal of thy Journey to *Ireland*, a pretty Instance? For seriously of it self, I hold it one of the most extravagant Propositions that I have heard, thy giving Ear to it, being most assuredly only to express thy Love to me, and not
thy

thy Judgment in my Affairs : As for the Business it self, (I mean the Peace of *Ireland*) to shew thee the Care I have had of it, and the Fruits I hope to receive from it, I have sent thee the last Dispatches I have sent concerning it, earnestly desiring thee to keep them to thy self ; only thou may'st in general let the *Q. Regent* and Ministers there understand, That I have offered my *Irish* Subjects so good Satisfaction, that a Peace will shortly ensue, which I really believe. But for God's sake, let none know the particulars of my Dispatches. I cannot but tell thee, that I am much beholding to the *Portugal* Agent (and little to the *French*) it being by his means that I have sent thee all my Letters, (besides Expresses) since I came hither, though I expected most from *Sabran*.

“ I will not trouble thee with repetitions of
 “ News, *Digby's* dispatch which I have seen being
 “ so full, that I can add nothing ; yet I cannot but
 “ paraphrase a little upon that which he calls his
 “ superstitious observation : It is this, nothing can
 “ be more evident, then that *Strafford's* innocent
 “ Blood hath been one of the great causes of God's
 “ just Judgments upon this Nation by a furious
 “ civil War, both sides hitherto being almost
 “ equally punished as being in a manner equally
 “ guilty ; but now this last crying Blood being to-
 “ tally theirs, I believe it is no presumption here-
 “ after to hope that his Hand of Justice must be
 “ heavier upon them, and lighter upon us, looking
 “ now upon our Cause, having passed by our
 “ Faults.

This is a true Copy, examined by

Edm. Prideaux.

To

XXIII.

*Copy to the D. of R.**Richmond,*

I Thank you for the Accompt you sent me by this Bearer, and have nothing of new to direct you in, but only to remember you that my going to *West.* is not to be mentioned but upon probable hopes of procuring a Treaty with Com. there or thereabouts, and that you mention the security I ask with my coming to *West.* And I hope I need not remember you to Cajole well the Independents and Scots; this Bearer will tell you how well our Western and Northern Affociations go on, to whom I refer you for other Things. I rest.

*This is a true Copy,**Zouch Tate.*

XXIV.

Memorials for Secretary Nicholas concerning the Treaty at Uxbridge.

Oxford, Feb. 1644.

1. **F**OR Religion and Church-government I will not go one jot further then what is offered by you already.

U

2. And

2. And so for the *Militia* more than what ye have allowed by me, but even in that you must observe that I must have free nomination of the full half; as if the total number Scots and all be thirty, I will name fifteen; yet if they (I mean the English Rebels) will be so base as to admit of ten Scots to twenty English, I am contented to name five Scots and ten English, and so proportionably to any number that shall be agreed upon.

3. As for gaining of particular Persons besides Security, I give you Power to promise them Rewards for performed Services, not sparing to engage for Places; so they be not of great Trust, or be taken away from honest Men in possession, but as much Profit as you will: With this last you are only to acquaint *Richmond*, *Southampton*, *Culpeper*, and *Hyde*.

This is a true Copy,

Louch Tate.

XXV.

Directions for my Uxbridge Commissioners.

First, Concerning Religion.

IN this the government of the Church (as I suppose) will be the chief Question, wherein two Things are to be considered, Conscience and Policy. For the first, I must declare unto you that I cannot yield to the change of the Government by Bishops:

Bishops; not only as I fully concur with the most general Opinion of Christians in all Ages, as being the best, but likewise I hold my self particularly bound by the Oath I took at my Coronation, not to alter the Government of this Church from what I found it. And as for the Churches Patrimony, I cannot suffer any diminution or alienation of it, it being without peradventure Sacriledge, and likewise contrary to my Coronation-Oath; but whatsoever shall be offered, for rectifying of Abuses if any have crept in, or yet for the ease of tender Consciences (so that it endamage not the Foundation) I am content to hear, and will be ready to give a gracious Answer thereunto. For the second, as the King's Duty is to protect the Church, so it is the Churches to assist the King, in the maintenance of his just Authority; wherefore my Predecessors have been always careful (and especially since the Reformation) to keep the dependency of the Clergy intirely upon the Crown; without which it will scarcely sit fast upon the King's Head; therefore you must do nothing to change or lessen this necessary dependency.

Next concerning the Militia.

After Conscience, this is certainly the fittest Subject for a King's Quarrel; for without it the Kingly Power is but a shadow; and therefore upon no means to be quitted, but to be maintained according to the ancient known Laws of the Land: Yet because to attain to this so much wished Peace by all good Men, it is in a manner necessary that sufficient and real Security be given for the performance of what shall be agreed upon. I permit you either by leaving strong Towns or other Military Force in the Rebels possession (until Arti-

cles be performed) to give such assurance for performance of Conditions as you shall judge necessary for to conclude a Peace: Provided always that ye take (at least) as great care by sufficient Security, that Conditions be performed to me: *And to make sure that the Peace once settled, all things should return into their ancient Channels.*

Thirdly, for Ireland.

I confess, they have very specious popular Arguments to press this Point, the gaining of no Article more conducing to their ends than this: And I have as much Reason both in Honour and Policy to take care how to answer this as any: All the World knows the eminent inevitable necessity which caused me to make the Irish Cessation, and there remains yet as strong reason for the concluding of that Peace; wherefore ye must consent to nothing to hinder me therein, until a clear way be shown me how my Protestant Subjects there may probably (at least) defend themselves; and that I shall have no more need to defend my Conscience and Crown from the Injuries of this Rebellion.

A true Copy,

Leuch Tate.

XXVI.

At Uxbridge on Wednesday the 29th of January, 1644. the Protestation under-written was unanimously consented unto, and taken by all his Majesty's Commissioners appointed to treat there, touching a well-grounded Peace.

I *A. B.* being one of the Commissioners assigned by his Majesty for this present Treaty at *Uxbridge*, do Protest and Promise in the sight of Almighty God, that I will not disclose nor reveal unto any Person or Persons whatsoever (who is not a Commissioner) any Matter or Thing that shall be spoken of during the Treaty by any one, or more of his Majesty's Commissioners in any private Debate among our selves, concerning the said Treaty; so as to name or describe directly or indirectly the Person or Persons that shall speak any such Matter or Thing, unless it be by the consent of all the said Commissioners that shall be then living.

Memorandum, That it is by all the said Commissioners agreed, That this shall not bind where any ten of the Commissioners shall agree to certifie his Majesty the number of Assenters or Dissenters, upon any particular result in this Treaty, not naming or describing the Persons.

This is a true Copy, examined by

Zouch Tate.

XXVII.

*The Queen to the King from York, March 30,
1644. Also April.*

My Dear Heart,

I Need not tell you from whence this Bearer comes ; only I will tell you, That the Propositions which he brings you are good, but 260. I believe that it is not yet time to put them into execution : Therefore find some means to send them back, which may not discontent them, and do not tell who gave you this Advice. Sir *Hugh Cholmely* is come with a Troop of Horse to kiss my Hands : The rest of his People he left at *Scarborough*, with a Ship laden with Arms, which the Ships of the Parliament had taken and brought thither, so she is ours ; the Rebels have quitted *Tadcaster* upon our sending Forces to *Whetherby*, but they are returned with twelve hundred Men : We send more Forces to drive them out, though those we have already at *Whetherby* are sufficient, but we fear lest they have all their Forces thereabout, and lest they have some Design ; for they have quitted *Selby* and *Ca-wood*, the last of which they have burnt : Between this and to morrow-night we shall know the Issue of this Business ; and I will send you an Express. I am more careful to advertise you of what we do, that you and we may find means to have Pass-ports to send ; and I wonder that upon the Cessation you have not demanded that you might send in safety : This shews my Love. I understand to day from *London*, That they will have no Cessation, and that they

they Treat at the beginning of the two first Articles, which is of the Forts, Ships and Ammunition, and afterwards of the disbanding of the Army: Certainly, I wish a Peace more than any, and that with greater Reason; but I would the disbanding of the perpetual Parliament, first; and certainly, the rest will be easily afterwards. I do not say this of my own Head alone; for generally both those who are for you and against you in this Country, wish an end of it; and I am certain, that if you do demand it at the first, in case it be not granted, *Hull* is ours, and all *Yorkshire*, which is a thing to consider of: And for my particular, if you make a Peace and disband your Army, before there is an end to this perpetual Parliament, I am absolutely resolved to go into *France*, not being willing to fall again into the Hands of those People, being well assured, that if the Power remain with them, that it will not be well for me in *England*. Remember what I have written to you in three precedent Letters, and be more careful of me than you have been, or at the least dissemble it; to the end that no notice be taken of it. Adieu: The Man hastens me, so that I can say no more.

York, this 30th of March.

XXVIII.

THIS Letter should have gone by a Man of Master *Denedsdale*, who is gone, and all the beginning of this Letter was upon this Subject: And therefore by this Man it signifies nothing, but the end was so pleasing, that I do not forbear to send it to you. You now know by *Elliot* the issue of the Business of *Todcaster*, since we had almost lost *Scarborough*, whilst *Cholmely* was here, *Browne Bushell* would have rendred it up to the Parliament: But *Cholmely* having had notice of it, is gone with our Forces, and hath re-taken it: And hath desired to have a Lieutenant and Forces of ours to put within it; for which we should take him: He hath also taken two Pinaces from *Hotham*, which brought 44 Men to put within *Scarborough*, 10 Pieces of Canon, 4 Barrels of Powder, and 4 of Bullet. This is all our News; Our Army marches to-morrow to put an end to *Fairfaxes* Excellency. And I will make an end of this Letter, this third of *April*. I have had no News of you since *Parsons*.

A true Copy,

P. W.

30 March, 3 April.

XXIX.

*The Queen to the King from Bath. April
21. 1644.*

My Dear Heart,

F*Red. Cornwallis* will have told you all our Voyage as far as *Adburie*, and the state of my Health: Since my coming hither, I find my self so ill, as well in the ill Rest that I have, as in the encrease of my Rhume.

I hope that this days Rest will do me good: I go to morrow to *Bristol*, to send you back the Carts; many of them are already returned. My Lord *Dillon* told me, *not directly from you, tho' he says you approve it*, That it was fit I should write a Letter to the Commissioners of Ireland to this effect, That they ought to desist from those things for the present, which they had put in their Paper, and to assure them, that when you shall be in another condition than you are now, that you will give them contentment.

I thought it to be a matter of so great engagement, that I dare not do it without your command; therefore if it please you that I should do so, send me what you would have me write, that I may not do more then what you appoint: And also that it being your command, you may hold to that which I promise: For I should be very much grieved to write any thing which I would not hold to, and when you have promised it me, I will be confident. I believe also, that to write to my Lord *Muskery* without the rest will be enough; for the Letter which I shall write to him shall be with my own Hand: And
if

if it be to all your Commissioners, it shall be by the Secretary. Farewel my Dear Heart, I cannot write any more, but that I am absolutely

Yours.

A true Copy,

Zouch Tate.

XXX.

The Queen to the King from Paris. Jan. 164th.

Paris, January.

I Have received one of your Letters, dated from *Marleborow* of an old date, having received many others more fresh, to which I have made answer: I will say nothing concerning this but only concerning the Affair of (*Gor.*) if it be not done, it is time, being very seasonable at this time, which I did not believe before. I understand that the Commissioners are arrived at *London*; I have nothing to say, but that you have a care of your Honour; and that if you have a Peace, it may be such as may hold; and if it fall out otherwise, *that you do not abandon those who have served you, for fear they do forsake you in your need.* Also I do not see how you can be in safety without a Regiment of Guard; for my self I think I cannot be, *seeing the malice which they have against me, and my Religion, of which I hope you will have a care of both;* but in my Opinion Religion should be the last thing upon which you should

should treat: For if you do agree upon strictness against the Catholicks, it would discourage them to serve you: And if afterwards there should be no Peace, you could never expect Succours either from Ireland, or any other Catholick Prince, for they would believe you would abandon them after you have served your self. I have dispatched an Express into Scotland to Montrosse, to know the condition he is in, and what there is to be done. This Week I send to Mr. de Lorrain and into Holland; I lose no time: If I had more of your News, all would go better. Adieu my Dear Heart.

A true Copy,

Louch Tate.

My Wife, ½ 6 Decem. Jan. 1644.

XXXI.

*The Queen to the King. Paris, Jan. 27, 1644.
Also March 13.*

Paris, Jan. 17.

My Dear Heart,

TOm. Eliot two days since hath brought me much Joy and Sorrow: The first, to know the good estate in which you are; the other, the fear I have that you go to London. I cannot conceive where the Wit was of those who gave you this Counsel, unless it be to hazard your Person to save theirs: But Thanks be to God, to day I received one of yours by the Ambassador of Portugal dated in
January,

January, which comforted me much to see that the Treaty shall be at *Uxbridge*: For the Honour of God trust not your self in the Hands of these People. And if you ever go to *London* before the Parliament be ended, or without a good Army, you are lost. *I understand that the Propositions for the Peace must begin by disbanding the Army; if you consent to this, you shall be lost, they having the whole power of the Militia, they have done and will do whatsoever they will. I received yesterday Letters from the Duke of Lorrain, who sends me word if his Service be agreeable to you, he will bring you ten thousand Men.* Dr. Goffe whom I have sent into *Holland* shall Treat with him in his passage upon this Business; and I hope very speedily to send good News of this, as also of the Mony. Assure your self I will be wanting in nothing you shall desire; and that I will hazard my Life, that is, to die by Famine, rather than not to send to you: Send me word always by whom you receive my Letters, for I write both by the Ambassador of *Portugal* and the Resident of *France*. Above all, have a care not to abandon those who have served you, as well the Bishops as the poor Catholics. Adieu; You will pardon me if I make use of another to write, not being able to do it yet my self in Cyphers. Shew to my Nephew *Rupert*, that I intreat you to impart all that I write to you, to the end that he may know the Reason why I write not to him. I know not how to send great Packets.

A true Copy,

Zouch Tate.

My Wife, 27 Jan. 1664.

Paris,

XXXII.

Paris, *this 13th of March.*

My Dear Heart,

SINCE my last, I have received one of your Letters marked 16. by which you signifie the receipt of my Letters by *Pooly*, which hath a little surprized me, seeming to me that you write as if I had in my Letter something which had displeased you: If that hath been, I am very innocent in my Intention. I only did believe that it was necessary you should know all. There is one other thing in your Letter which troubles me much, where you would have me keep to my self your Dispatches, as if you believe that I should be capable to shew them to any only to Lord *Fermyn* to uncypher them, my Head not suffering me to do it my self: But if it please you I will do it, and none in the World shall see them; be kind to me or you kill me. I have already Affliction enough to fear, which without you I could not do, but your Service surmounts all. Farewel my Dear Heart; behold the Mark which you desire to have to know when I desire any thing in earnest ✝, and I pray begin to remember what I spake to you concerning *Jack Barkley* for Master of the Wards. I am not ingaged nor will not be for the Places of Lord *Percy* and others, do you accordingly.

13 March 1644.

XXXIII.

Newark the 27 of June.

My Dear Heart,

I Received just now your Letter by my Lord *Savile*, who found me ready to go away, staying but for one thing, for which you will well pardon two Days stop, it is to have *Hull* and *Lincoln*. Young *Hotbam* having been put in Prison by order of Parliament, is escaped, and hath sent to 260 that he would cast himself into his Arms, and that *Hull* and *Lincoln* should be rendred, he is gone to his Father, and 260. writes for your Answer, so that I think I shall go hence *Friday* or *Saturday*, and shall go lie at *Werton*, and from thence to *Ashby*, where we will resolve what way to take, and I will stay there a day, because that the March of the Day before, will have been somewhat great, and also to know how the Enemy marches; all their Forces of *Nottingham* at present are gone to *Leicester* and *Darby*; which makes us believe, that it is to intercept our passage; as soon as we have resolved, I will send you word. At this present I think it fit to let you know the state in which we march, and what I leave behind me for the safety of *Lincolnshire* and *Nottinghamshire*. I leave 2000 Foot, and wherewithal to arm 500 more, 20 Companies of Horse, all this to be under *Charles Cavendish*, whom the Gentlemen of the Country have desired me not to carry with me against his Will, for he desired extremely to go. The Enemies have left within *Nottingham* 1000. I carry with me 3000 Foot, 30 Companies of Horse and Dragoons, 6 Pieces of Cannon, and 2 Mortars. *Harry Fermyn* commands
the

the Forces which go with me, as Colonel of my Guard, and Sir *Alexander Lesley* the Foot under him, and *Gerard* the Horse, and *Robin Legg* the Artillery, and her She-Majesty Generalissima, and extreemly diligent, with a 150 Wagons of Baggage to govern, in case of Battel. Have a care that no Troop of *Essex* his Army incommodate us, for I hope that for the rest we shall be strong enough, for at *Nottingham* we have had the experience, one of our Troops having beaten six of theirs and made them fly. I have received your Proclamation or Declaration, which I wish had not been made, being extreemly disadvantageous for you; for you shew too much fear, and do not what you had resolved upon. Farewel my Dear Heart.

The Queen to the King, 27 June, 1643.

XXXIV.

Instructions to ———, sent to the Court of France the 12th of July, 1626.

C H A R L E S Rex.

IT is not unknown both to the French King and his Mother, what Unkindnesses and Distastes have fallen between my Wife and Me, which hitherto I have born with great Patience (as all the World knows) ever expecting and hoping an amendment, knowing her to be but young, and perceiving it to be the ill crafty Counsels of her Servants,

vants, for advancing of their own ends, rather than her own Inclination: For at my first meeting of her at *Dover*, I could not expect more Testimonies of Respect and Love, then she shewed; as to give one instance, her first Suit to me was, That she being young and coming to a strange Country, both by her Years and Ignorance of the Customs of the Place, might commit many Errors, therefore that I would not be angry with her for her Faults of Ignorance, before I had with my Instructions learned her to eschew them, and desired me in these Cases to use no third Person, but to tell her my self when I found she did any thing amiss. I both granted her Request, and thanked her for it, but desired that she would use me as she had desired me to use her, which she willingly promised me, which Promise she never kept. For a little after this, Madam *St. George* taking a Distast because I would not let her ride with us in the Coach, when there was Women of better Quality to fill her room, claiming it as her due, (which in *England* we think a strange thing) set my Wife in such an Humor of Distaste against me, as that from that very hour to this, no Man can say that ever she used me two Days together with so much respect as I deserved of her; but by the contrary, has put so many Disrespects on me, as it were too long to set down all; some I will relate. As I take it, it was at her first coming to *Hampton Court*, I sent some of my Council to her, with those Orders that were kept in the Queen my Mothers House, desiring she would command the Count of *Tilliers*, that the same might be kept in hers: Her Answer was, she hoped that I would give her leave to order her House as she list her self. Now if she had said that she would speak with me, not doubting to give me Satisfaction in it, I could have found no fault with her,

her, whatsoever she would have said of this to my self, for I could only impute it to Ignorance ; but I could not imagine that she should affront me so, as to refuse me in such a thing publicly.) After I heard this Answer, I took a time (when I thought we had both best Leisure to dispute it) to tell her calmly both her fault in the publick denial, and her mistaking of the Business it self. She, instead of acknowledging her Fault and Mistaking, gave me so ill an Answer that I omit, not to be tedious, the relation of that Discourse having too much of that nature hereafter to relate. Many little Neglects I will not take the Pains to set down, as her eschewing to be in my Company. When I have any thing to speak to her, I must manage her Servants first, else I am sure to be denied; her neglect of the English Tongue, and of the Nation in general. I will also omit the Affront she did me, before my going to this last unhappy Assembly of Parliament, because there has been Talk enough of that already, &c. The Author of it is before you in *France*. To be short, omitting all other Passages, coming only to that which is most recent in Memory ; I having made a Commission to make my Wifes Jointure, &c. to assign her those Lands she is to live on, and it being brought to such a ripeness that it wanted but my consent to the Particulars they had chosen ; she taking notice that it was now time to name the Officers for her Revenue, one night when I was a Bed, put a Paper in my Hand, telling me it was a List of those that she desired to be of her Revenue. I took it, and said I would read it next Morning ; but withal told her, that by agreement in *France* I had the naming of them. She said, there were both English and French in the Note: I replied, That those English I thought fit to serve her I would confirm; but

for the French, it was impossible for them to serve her in that nature. Then she said, all those in the Paper had Breviats from her Mother, and her Self, and that she could admit no other. Then I said it was neither in her Mothers Power, nor Hers, to admit any without my leave, and that if she stood upon that, whomsoever she recommended, should not come in. Then she bad me plainly take my Lands to my self, for if she had no Power to put in whom she would in those Places, she would have neither Lands nor House of me, but bad me give her what I thought fit in Pension. I bad her then remember to whom she spake, and told her, That she ought not to use me so. Then she fell into a passionate Discourse, how she is miserable, in having no Power to place Servants, and that Businessess succeeded the worse for her Recommendation; which when I offered to answer, she would not so much as hear me. Then she went on, saying, she was not of that base Quality to be used so ill. Then I made her both hear me and end that Discourse. Thus having had so long patience, with the disturbance of that that should be one of my greatest Contentments, I can no longer suffer those that I know to be the Cause and Fomenters of these Humors, to be about my Wife any longer, which I must do if it were but for one Action they made my Wife do, which is, to make her go to *Tyburn* in Devotion to pray, which Action can have no greater Invektive made against it, than the relation. Therefore you shall tell my Brother the French King, as likewise his Mother, that this being an Action of so much necessity, I doubt not but he will be satisfied with it, especially since he hath done the like himself, not staying while he had so much Reason: And being an Action that some may interpret of harshness to his Nation, I thought

good

good to give him an Account of it, because that in all Things I would preserve the good Correspondency and Brotherly Affection that is between us.

A true Copy. *Zouch Tate.*

XXXV.

Oxford, Jan. 1643.

Dear Heart,

I Receive it as a good Augure thus to begin this new Year, having newly receiv'd thine of the 30 Decemb. which I cannot stay to Decipher, for not losing this opportunity, it likewise being a just excuse for this short Accompt. This day I have dispatched *Digbies* Secretary, fully relating the State of our Affairs, therefore I shall only now tell thee, That the Rebels are engaged into an equal Treaty without any of those Disadvantages which might have been apprehended when *Tom. Elliot* went hence, and that the Distractions of *London* were never so great, or so likely to bring good effect as now. Lastly, That Assistance was never more needful, never so likely as now to do good to him who is eternally thine.

Copy to my Wife, 1 Jan. 1644. by P. A.

This is a true Copy examined by

Miles Corbet.

XXXVI.

Oxford, Thursday 24 April.

Harry,

LEST my Wife should not yet be fit for any Business, I write this to you ; not to excuse my Pains but ease hers ; and that she may know but not be troubled with my Kindness. I refer to your Discretion, how far to impart my Letter to her or any other Business, that so her Health in the first place be cared for, then my Affairs. And now I must tell you that undoubtedly if you had not trusted to *Digby's* sanguine Complexion (not to be rebated from sending good News) you would not have found fault with him for sending mistaken Intelligence, for if he should strictly tie himself to certain Truths in this kind, you must have nothing from him but by Proclamations or Ordinances from the pretended Houses. But tell me, can you not distinguish between what we send you upon certainty and what upon uncertain Reports, without making an Oath the Mark of distinction ? And are you obliged to publish all the News we send you ? Seriously I think News may be sometimes too good to be told in the French Court. And certainly, there is as much dexterity in publishing of News, as in Matters which at first sight, may seem of greater difficulty : For as I would not have them think that all Assistance bestowed upon me were in vain, so I would not have them believe that I needed no help, lest they should underhand assist any Rebels to keep the ballance of Dissention among us equal.

For

For Matter of News and present State of my Affairs I refer you to *Digby*; only this in general, that if it shall please God to assist us this Year but half so miraculously as he did the last (my present State compared with what it was this time Twelve-month) I am very hopeful to see a joyful Harvest before next Winter: Nor do I think this in any human probability possible, except my Wife can procure me considerable Assistance both of Men and Mony; of which I conceive little Reason to despair, your last giving me good hope concerning *Lorrain*: And tho' I say not, that, for the other, I have so good an Author as 196. yet I hope you will not much blame my Confidence, when 149. in hers the 10th of *March*, says, *J'ay une Affaire assure qui vous donnera 40000 Pistoles, que Je vous eusse envoye si J'eusse eu mon navire revenu avec l'estain.*

In the last place I will impose that upon you that is not reasonable to expect from my Wife, which is to give me a continual Accompt what Letters she receives from me, and what miscarries or comes slowly; to which end take notice, that all my Letters to her are numerarily marked on the top as this is with 37. and likewise I now begin the same with you: So farewell.

In your next let me know particularly how my Wife is, which tho' it be not as I would have it, yet the perfect knowledge will hinder me to imagine her worse than she is, if well, then every Word will please me. I have commanded *Digby* to write to you freely concerning *Will. Murry*, which I hold to be necessary as concerning *Montrosses* Business.

To the Lord Jermyn, 24 Apr. 1645. concerning France.

This a true Copy. *Zouche Tate,*

XXXVII.

Dear Heart,

SINCE my last by *Choquen* I have had no means of Writing, and as little new Matter: That which is now, is the progress of the Treaty, of which these enclosed Papers will give thee a full Account; But if thou have them sooner from *London* than me, thou hast no Reason to wonder, considering the length and uncertainty of the way I am forced to send by, in respect of the other: For the Business it self, I believe thou wilt approve of my choice of Treaters; and for my Propositions, they differ nothing in substance (very little in Words) from those which were last: Wherefore I need to say nothing of them, and for my Instructions they are not yet made, but by the next I hope to send them. Now upon the whole Matter I desire thee to show the Queen and Ministers there, the improbability that this present Treaty should produce a Peace, considering the great strange difference (if not contrariety) of Grounds that are betwixt the Rebels Propositions and mine, and that I cannot alter mine, nor will they ever theirs, until they be out of hope to prevail by Force, which a little Assistance, by thy means, will soon make them; for I am confident, if ever I could put them to a Defensive (which a reasonable Sum of Money would do) they would be easily brought to Reason. Concerning our *interferings here at Oxford*, I desire thee to suspend thy Judgment (for I believe few but partial Relations will come to thee) until I shall send some whom I may trust by Word of Mouth;

Mouth; it being too much Trouble to us both to set them down in Paper.

Copy to my Wife 22 Jan. 1644.

This is a true Copy examined by

Miles Corbett.

XXXVIII.

Dear Heart,

I Never till now knew the Good of Ignorance, for I did not know the Danger that thou wert in by the Storm, before I had certain assurance of thy happy escape; we having had a pleasing false Report, of thy safe landing at *Newcastle*, which thine of the 19 *Jan.* so confirmed us in, that we at least were not undeceived of that hope, till we knew certainly how great a Danger thou hast past, of which I shall not be out of apprehension, until I may have the happiness of thy Company, for indeed I think it not the least of my Misfortunes, that for my sake thou hast run so much hazard; in which thou hast expressed so much Love to me that I confess it is impossible to repay, by any thing I can do, much less by Words; but my Heart being full of affection for thee, admiration of thee, and impatient passion of Gratitude to thee, I could not but say something, leaving the rest to be read by thee out of thine own Noble Heart. The intercepting of mine to thee, of the 23 *Feb.* has bred

great Discourse in several Persons, and of several Kinds, as my saying I was persecuted for Places, is applied to all and not only those that I there name to be Sutors; whereas the Truth is I meant thereby the importunity of others, whom at that time I had not time enough to name as well as some there mentioned; for I confess 174. and 133. are not guilty of that Fault. Some find Fault as too much Kindness to thee (thou may easily vote from what Constellation that comes) but I assure such that I want Expression, not Will, to do it ten times more to thee on all Occasions. Others press me as being brought upon the Stage; but I answer that having profest to have thy Advice, it were a Wrong to thee to do any thing before I had it. As for our Treaty (leaving the Particulars to this inclosed) I am confident thou wilt be content with it as concerning my part in it, for all the Soldiers are well pleased with what I have done; but expect no Cessation of Arms, for the Lower House will have none without a Disbanding, and I will not Disband till all be agreed. Lastly for our Military Affairs, I thank God that here and in the West they prosper well. As for the North I refer thee to 226. 140. Information. So daily expecting and praying for good News from thee, &c.

Copy to my Wife, 13 Feb. 1643.

Oxford, 13 Feb. 1643.

A true Copy,

Zouche Tate.

XXXIX.

*Instructions to Colonel Cockran to be pursued in
his Negotiation to the King of Denmark.*

YOU are to inform the King of *Denmark*, that by his Majesty's Command, as to the nearest Ally of his Crown, his Uncle, and whom he believes will not be unconcerned in his Affairs, as well in Interest as Affection, you are sent to give a particular Accompt of the State of his Majesty's Affairs; to renew the ancient League and Amity that hath been between the two Kingdoms and Families Royal, and to reduce it to more exact Particulars, such as might be useful to the present Affairs of *England*, and all Occurrences in the future of those of *Denmark*.

That the present Affair of your Negotiation, is to demand an Assistance from his Majesty, such a one as the present State of the Affairs of *England* requires, against a dangerous Combination of his Majesty's Subjects, who have not only invaded his Majesty in his particular Rights, but have laid a Design to dissolve the Monarchy and Frame of Government, under pretences of Liberty and Religion, becoming a dangerous Precedent to all the Monarchies of Christendom, if attended with success in their Design.

That the nature of their Proceedings hath been such as hath not admitted any Foreign Treaty to be interested in suppressing their Design, without giving them advantage of scandalizing his Majesty's Intentions, and drawing away universally the Hearts of his People, whom they had insinuated
under

under pretence of Reformation of particular Abuses of Government, and Ministers of Estate, to concur generally with approbation of their Proceedings, and in which (though the dangerous Consequence and Design were visible to his Majesty) a present compliance was necessary, lest any publick opposition on his Majesty's part, that might seem to defeat the great Expectations which they had raised in the Commons in those plausible Particulars, might have occasioned a general Revolt throughout the Kingdoms, great Jealousies being dispersed and fomented among them of his Majesty's Foreign Treaties, and Force to be used to oppose and suppress those their Desires and the Movers therein.

Upon the Credit they had herewith built on the Peoples Opinions, they proceeded under pretence of Reformation of Religion to dissolve the Government of the Church, according to its Constitution in *England*, a chief Column and Support to that Monarchy and Crown.

They lastly invaded his Majesty in all the Prerogatives of his Crown, and under pretence of ill Ministers and Counsellors of Estate, whom they pretended to remove, endeavoured to invest in themselves in all times for the future the Domination of all Ministries of Estate, and of his Majesty's Family; withdrew all his Revenues into their own Hands, and to confirm themselves in an absolute Power of disposing his Estate, entred upon possessing themselves of the Militia of the Kingdom, his Navy and Magazines; in which his Majesty being forced to appear in opposition, dangerous Tumults were raised against him, so that he was forced to forsake *London*, for preservation of his Person, his Queen and Children.

That

That since for the Safety of the Queen he hath been forced to send her into *Holland*, and to retire himself to the best affected Party of his Subjects, from whence by Declarations setting forth the sinister Proceedings of that Faction, discovering their Designs of innovating the Government, and falsifying the Scandals they had imputed to him, he hath had the advantage generally to undeceive his People, to draw to him universally the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom. But the other Faction still keeping up some Interest and Credit with the Commons, in the desperate Estate they find themselves begin to make Head against him, have appointed a General, and are levying Forces to maintain their Party, committing divers Acts of Hostility, Violence and Rebellion.

That his Majesty having great Encouragements given him by the exceeding numbers of Gentry and Noblemen that resort to him, is already advanced near them with 6000 Horse, and 10000 Foot.

That the States of *Holland* have condescended to give her Majesty the Queen a Convoy of the greatest part of their Fleet now at Sea, for her return into *England*.

That divers Forts and Counties upon his Majesty's personal appearance, have declared for him, so that his Affairs at home grow daily into a better Estate, as he likewise expects and hopes, that all his Neighbour Princes and Allies, will not look upon so dangerous a Precedent to their own Crowns and Monarchies, without contributing to suppress this so pernicious a Design begun within his Kingdom.

That to give his (*Danish*) Majesty the juster Ground to reflect upon the dangerous Consequences, in relation to his own Interest, of their Success, it
hath

hath been by them publickly moved in the Commons House long since, to interpose in the accommodation of the Dutch, and to set out a Fleet to take away his Customs of the *Sound*.

That they have since imputed to his Majesty as a Ground to scandal him with his People, That he did Negotiate the introducing by his Uncle the King of *Denmark* a Foreign Power to settle his Affairs, and under that pretext have given a large Commission and particular Instructions to the Fleet, to visit, search, and intercept all such *Danish* Ships, as they should meet, and to Fight with, sink or destroy, all such as should resist them, not permitting the same, or to take and detain them, having any Arms or Ammunition on board; according to which they have searched, visited, and detained divers, to the great Prejudice and Interruption of the *Norway* Trade driven commonly in this Kingdom in their own Bottoms; And that they did prepare Force against others, whom they permitted not to Water, nor any other Accommodation, being bound for the *West-Indies*, and put in by stress of Weather in the West of *England*.

That in pursuance of their great Design of extirpating the Royal Blood and Monarchy of *England*, they have endeavoured likewise to lay a great Blemish upon his Royal Family, endeavouring to illegitimate all derived from his Sister, at once to cut off the Interest and Pretensions of the whole Race; which their most detestable and scandalous Design they have pursued, examining Witnesses, and conferring Circumstances and Times to colour their Pretensions in so great a Fault; and which, as his Sacred Majesty of *England* in the true Sense of Honour of his Mother doth abhor, and will punish; so he expects his concurrence, in vindicating a Sister of so happy Memory, and by whom so near an Union,

Union, and continued League of Amity, hath been produced between the Families and Kingdoms.

That the Particulars in which his Majesty doth desire his Assistance, are, in the loan and raising of Men, Mony, Arms and Ships, all or such of them as may consist best with the convenience of his own Affairs: And of such in the first place as may be most requisite and wanting to his Majesty.

That to set his Levies on foot, and put him in a posture to protect his Subjects in all Places that adhere to him, and receive their Contribution, 100000*l.* will be necessary for him, which his Majesty desires by way of Loan. And for the restitution of it, besides his Kingly Word and solemn Engagement upon this Treaty, he is contented, of such his Crown-Jewels as are in his disposal, to leave his Royal Pledge, if it shall be desired.

The Particulars of Arms that he desires, are 6000 Musquets, 1500 Horse-arms, and 20 pieces of Field-Artillery mounted.

Assistance of Men, he desires only in Horsemen, and to know in what time they may be ready, and how many.

That the *Holy Island*, or *New-Castle*, are designed for the landing of the said Horse, and Magazin of the said Provisions; for reception likewise, and protection of such his Ships as he shall think fit to employ for the countenance and security of those his Subjects that shall Trade upon these Coasts, and for ascertaining the Correspondence and Intelligence between the two Kingdoms; in which the number is left to be proportioned as may best fort and agree with his own Affairs. And for which the *Holy Island* is conceived one of the aptest Harbours in his Majesty's Dominions, being capable of any
Ships

Ships whatsoever, in a very great proportion, an excellent Road at the entrance, a ready Out-let, and a strong Fort under his Majesty's Command.

That in Lieu of this Assistance contributed by the King of *Denmark*, his Majesty will oblige himself, and ratifie in expresse Articles, to restore into the Magazines of *Denmark*, a like proportion of Arms and Ammunition, to repay and defray the Charges of the Mony lent, and Levies of Horse; and so soon as his Affairs shall be settled, and himself in a condition to do it, upon all Occasions, to contribute the assistance of his Fleet, in maintaining his Right and Title to the Customs of the *Sound* against all Persons whatsoever; to ratifie the Treaty that was made last by Sir *Thomas Roe*, and to enter into a League Offensive and Defensive against intestine Rebellions. In pursuance of which Treaty, while the Negotiations and Articles may be severally perfected, his Majesty doth expect this first Supply of Monies and Arms, present Affairs not admitting a delay in the same.

That in case the King of *Denmark* will lend Mony upon Jewels, there is in *Holland* a great Collar of Rubies, and another of Rubies and Pearl; that may be sent to him or deliver'd to his Agent there: Who may have order to pay the Mony here: Or any other Jewels.

That there have been in Discourses several Propositions of Accommodation made by them to the King, to which the King hath at all times made more advances on his part, than in reason could have been expected from him, and the Difficulties have still risen on theirs.

And that whereas his Majesty doth understand, that a Person is addressed to the King of *Denmark* from his Parliament, to insinuate Misunderstandings

ings abroad with his Majesty's Allies, as they have done at home among his People, his Majesty expects that he be neither received, nor permitted to remain within his Dominions, to become an Intelligencer and Spy upon the Treaty and Negotiations between their Majesties, but that he be dismissed and sent away so soon as ever he shall arrive.

King Charles I. in a printed Declaration dated from Newark, March 9, 1641. says to the Parliament, "*Whatsoever you are advertised from Rome, Venice, Paris, of the Pope's Nuncio soliciting France, Spain, &c. for Foreign Aids, We are confident no sober honest Man in our Kingdom can believe that we are so desperate or so senseless to entertain such Designs, as would not only bury this Our Kingdom in certain Destruction and Ruin, but our Name and Posterity in perpetual Scorn and Infamy.*"

If this Passage be compared with the preceding Letters and Instructions, all equitable Men may judge whether the King did not pass Sentence against himself, and absolve the High Court of Justice:

An Order sent to the King's Printer, with
the Proclamation against the *Irish* Rebels.

IT is his Majesty's Pleasure that you forthwith print in very good Paper, and send unto me for his Majesty's Service forty Copies of the Proclamation inclosed, leaving convenient space for his Majesty to sign above; and to affix the Privy Signet underneath: And his Majesty's Command is, That you print not above the said number of forty Copies, and forbear to make any further publication of them, 'till his Pleasure be further signified; for which this shall be your Warrant.

Whitehall, 2 Jan.
1641.

Edward Nicholas.

For his Majesty's Printer.

Propositions delivered to his Majesty by the Earl of Strafford, for securing of his Majesty's Estate and bridling of Parliaments, and for increase of his Revenue much more than it is;

Touching the first, having considered divers Means, I find none so important to strengthen your Majesty's Regal Authorities against all oppositions or practices of troublesome Spirits, as to fortify your Kingdom, by having a Fortress in every
Chief

Chief Town and Important Place thereof furnished with Ordnance, Munition and faithful Men, as they ought to be, with all other Circumstances fit to be digested in a Business of this nature.

Ordering withal, the Trained Soldiers of the Country to be united in one Dependency with the said Forts, as well to secure their beginnings, as to secure them in any occasion of suspect, and keep their Arms for more Security; whereby the Countries are no less to be brought into subjection than the Cities themselves, and consequently the whole Kingdom; your Majesty having, by this Course, the Power thereof in your own Hands.

The Reasons of these Suggestions.

First, That in Policy, it is a greater Tie of the People by Force and Necessity, than meerly by Love and Affection; for by the one the Government resteth always secure; but by the other, no longer than the People are well contented.

Secondly, It forceth obstinate Subjects to be no more presumptuous than it pleaseth your Majesty to permit them.

Thirdly, That to have a State unfurnished is to give the Bridle thereof to the Subject, when by the contrary it resteth only in the Prince's Hand.

Fourthly, That modern Fortresses take long time in winning, with such Charge and Difficulty as no Subjects in these times have means probable to attempt them.

Fifthly, That it is a sure Remedy against Rebellious and Popular Mutinies or against Foreign Powers, because they cannot well succeed, when by this Course the apparent Means is taken away to force the King and State upon a doubtful For-

tune of a set Battle, as was the Cause that moved the pretended Invasion against the Land attempted by the King of *Spain*, 1588.

Sixthly, That your Majesty's Government is now secured by the People's more Subjection, and by their Subjection your Parliament must be forced consequently to alter their Stile, and to be conformable to your Will and Pleasure, for their Words and Opposition importeth nothing, where the Power is in your Majesty's own Hands to do with them what you please; being indeed the chief purpose of this Discourse, and the secret intent thereof fit to be conceal'd from any English at all, either Counsellor of State or others.

For these and other weighty Reasons it may be consider'd in this Place to make your Majesty more powerful and strong, some Orders be observed, that are used in fortify'd Countries, the Government thereof importeth as much as the States themselves, I mean in times of Doubt and Suspect, which are these.

Imprimis, That none wear Arms or Weapons at all, either in City or Country, but such as your Majesty may think fit to privilege, and they to be enrolled.

Secondly, That as many High-ways, as conveniently may be done, may be made passable through those Cities and Towns fortify'd, to constrain the Passengers to travel through them.

Thirdly, That Soldiers of Fortresses are sometimes chosen of another Nation if Subjects to the same Prince, but howsoever not to be born in the same Province, or within forty Miles of the Fortrefs, and not to have Friends or Correspondency near it.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, That at the Gates of such Walled Towns be appointed Officers, not to suffer any unknown Passenger to pass without a Ticket shewing from whence he came, and whither he goeth : And that the Gates of each City be shut at night, and the Keys be kept by the Mayor or Governor : Also that the Inn-keepers do deliver the Names of all unknown Passengers that lodge in their Houses, and if they stay suspiciously at any time, to present them to the Governour : Whereby dangerous Persons seeing these strict Courses will be more wary of their Actions, and thereby mischievous Attempts will be prevented. All which being referred to your Majesty's wise Consideration, it is meet for me withal to give you some Satisfaction of the Charge and Time to perform what is proposed, that you may not be discouraged in the difficulty of the one or prolongation of the other ; both which Doubts are resolved in one and the same Reason, in respect that in *England* each chief Town commonly hath a ruined Castle well seated for Strength, whose Foundation and Stones remaining may be both quickly repair'd for this use, and with little Charge, and made strong enough, I hope, for this purpose in the space of one Year, by adding withal Bulwarks and Rampiers, according to the Rules of Fortification.

The Ordnance for these Forts may be of Iron, and not to disfurnish your Majesty's Navy, or be at a greater Charge than is needful to maintain yearly the Forts.

I make account in ordinary Pay three thousand Men will be sufficient, and will require forty thousand Pounds Charge *per Annum* or thereabouts, being an Expence that inferior Princes undergo for their necessary Safety : All which Prevention ad-

ded to the invincible Sea-Forces your Majesty hath already, and may have, will make you the most powerful and obeyed Prince of the World, which I could likewise confirm by many Examples, but I omit them for Brevity, and not to confuse your Majesty with too much Matter. Your Gracious Majesty may find by the Scope of this Discourse the Means shewed in general to bridle your Subjects, that may either be discontented, or obstinate. So likewise am I to conclude the same Intent particularly against the Perverseness of your Parliament, as well to suppress that pernicious Humour, as to avoid their Oppositions against your Profit, being the Second Part to be discoursed on.

And therefore have first thought fit, for better prevention thereof, to make known to your Majesty the purpose of a General Oath your Subjects may take, for sure avoiding of all Rubs that may hinder the Conclusion of those Businesses.

It is further meant, That no Subject upon Pain of High-Treason may refuse the same Oath, containing only Matter of Allegiance and not Scruples or Points of Conscience, that may gain pretence to be denied.

The Effect of the Oath is this.

THAT all your Majesty's Subjects do acknowledge you to be *absolute King and Monarch* within your Dominions, as is among the Christian Princes, and your Prerogative as great, whereby you may and shall of your self by your Majesty's Proclamation, as well as any other Sovereign Princes doing the like, make Laws or reverse any made, with any other Act so great a
Mo-

Monarch as your self may do , and that without further Consent of Parliaments , or need to call them at all, in such Cases confirming that the Parliament in all Matters (excepting Causes to be sentenced as the High Court) ought to be subject unto your Majesty's Will to give the Negative or Affirmative Conclusion, and not to be constrained by their Impertinencies to any Inconvenience, appertaining to your Majesty's Royal Authority, and this notwithstanding any bad Pretence or Custom to the contrary in Practice, which (indeed) were fitter to be offered a Prince Elected without any other Right, than to your Majesty born successively King of *England, Scotland and Ireland*, and your Heirs for ever; and so resumed, not only of your Subjects, but also of the whole World. How necessary the dangerous Supremacy of Parliament-Ururpation is to be prevented, the Example of *Lewis XI. King of France* doth manifest; who found the like opposition as your Majesty doth, and by his Wisdom suppress'd it, and that to the purpose here intended, which is not to put down altogether Parliaments, and their Authority, being in many Cases very necessary and fit, but to abridge them so far as they seek to derogate from your Majesty's Royal Authority or advancement of your Greatness.

The Caution in offering the aforesaid Oath may require some Policy, for the easier Passage of it at first, either by singular or particular Tractation, and that so near at one time over the Land, as one Government may not know what the other intendeth, so it may pass the easier by having no time of Combination or Opposition.

There is another Means also more certain than this to bring to pass this Oath more easily : As also your Profit, and what is pretended, which here I omit for Brevity, requiring a long Discourse by it self, and have set it down in particular Instructions to inform your Majesty.

The Second Part of this Discourse is touching your Majesty's Profit, after your State is secured ; wherein I shall observe both some reasonable Content to the People, as also consider the great Expences that Princes have now a-days more than in times past to maintain their Greatness and Safety of their Subjects, who if they have not Wit or Will to consider their own Interest, so much your Majesty's Wisdom must repair their Defects, and force them by Compulsion. But I hope there shall be no such Cause in Points so reasonable.

To increase your Majesty's Revenue I set down divers Means for your Gracious Self to make choice of either all or part at your pleasure, and to put it in execution by such Degrees and Conditions as your great Wisdom shall think fit in a Business of this nature.

Imprimis, The first Course or Means intended to increase your Majesty's Revenues or Profit withal, is of greatest Consequence: And I shall call it a *Decima*, being so termed in *Italy* where in some Parts it is in use, importing the tenth part of all Subjects Estates to be paid as a Yearly Rent to the Prince, and as well Monied-men in Towns, as Landed-men in the Countries, their Value and Estates esteemed justly as it is to the true Value, (tho' with Reason) and this paid yearly in Money ; which Course apply'd in *England* for your Ma-
 jesty's

Majesty's Service may serve instead of Subsidies, Fifteens and such like, which in this Case are fit to be releas'd for the Subjects Benefit and Content, in recompence of the said *Decima*, which will yield your Majesty more in Certainty, than they do casually by Five hundred thousand Pounds *per Annum*, at the least.

Item, That when your Majesty hath gotten Mony into your Hands by some Courses to be set down, it would be a profitable Course to increase your *Intrato*, to buy out all Estates and Leases upon your own Lands in such sort that they be made no Losers; whereby, having your Lands free, and Renting them out to the true Value as it is most in use, and not employed as heretofore at an old Rent and small Fines, you may Rent it out for at least four or five times more Mony than the old Rent comes to; so that if your Majesty's Lands be already but Threescore thousand Pounds *per Annum*, by this Course it will be augmented at least Two hundred thousand Pounds *per Annum*; and to buy out the Tenants Estates will come to a small Matter by the Course, to make them no Losers, considering the Gains they have already made upon the Lands; and this is the rather to be done and the present Course changed, because it hath been a Custom meerly to couzen the King.

Item, Whereas most Princes do receive the Benefit of Salt in their own Hands as a Matter of great Profit, because they receive it at the lowest Price possible, and vent it with double Gains yearly; the same Course used by your Majesty were worth an hundred and fifty thousand Pounds at least. It is likewise in other Parts, that all Weights and Measures of the Land, either in private Houses, Shops or publick Markets, should be viewed to be just, and sealed once a Year, paying to the Prince for it;

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which

which in *England* apply'd to your Majesty, with order to pay Six Pence for the Sealing of each said Weight or Measure, would yield near Threescore thousand Pounds *per Annum*.

Item, That all Countries pay a *Gabella* for Transportation of Cloth, and so likewise in *England*; yet in *Spain* there is an Impost upon the Woolls, which is so great a Benefit and Wealth to the Sheep-Masters, as they may well pay you 5 *l. per Cent.* of the true value of their Shearing, which I conceive may be worth 15000 *l. per Annum*.

Item, Whereas the Lawyers Fees and Gains in *England* be excessive to your Majesty's Subjects Prejudice, it were to your Majesty to make use thereof, and to impose on all Causes sentenced with the Party to pay 5 *l. per Cent.* of the true Value that the Cause had gained him; and for a Recompence thereof to limit all Lawyers Fees and Gettings, whereby the Subject shall save more in Fees and Charges than he giveth in the *Gabella*, which I believe may be worth one Year with another Fifty thousand Pounds.

Item, Whereas the Inns and Victualling-houses in *England* are more chargeable to Travellers than in other Countries, it were good for your Majesty to limit them to certain Ordinaries, and raise besides a large Imposition, as it is used in *Tuscany* and other Parts; That is, prohibiting all Inns and Victualling-houses, but such as shall pay it; and to impose upon the chief Inns and Taverns to pay ten Pounds a Year to your Majesty, and the worst five Pounds *per Annum*; and all the Ale-houses twenty Shillings *per Annum*, more or less as they are in Custom of all sorts: There are so many in *England* that this Impost will yield 100000 *l. per Annum* to your Majesty.

Item,

Item, In *Tuscany* and other Parts there is a *Gabella* of all Cattle or Flesh, or Horses sold in the Market paying three or four Pound *per Cent.* for what they are sold for, which by Conjecture may be worth in *England* 20000 *l. per Annum*; using the like Custom upon Fish and other Victuals (Bread excepted). And for this cause all Flesh and Fish and Victuals to be praised and sold by weight, whereby the Subject saveth more in not being couzened, than the Imposition importeth them.

Item, In *Tuscany* is used a Taxation of 7 *l. per Cent.* upon all Alienations of Lands to the true Value; as also seven Pounds *per Cent.* upon all Dowries or Marriage-Monies the like; If it be justly used in *England* were worth at least 100000 *l. per Annum*; with many other Taxations upon Meal, and upon all Merchandize in all Towns, as well Port-Towns, which here I omit, as not fit for *England*: And in Satisfaction to the Subjects for these Taxes, your Majesty may be pleased to release them of Wardships, and to enjoy their Estates at 18 years old, and in the mean time their Profit to be preserved for their own Benefit. And also in Forfeitures of Estates by Condemnation, your Majesty may release the Subject, as not to take the Forfeiture of their Lands, but their Goods (High-Treason only excepted); and to allow the Counsel of Lawyers in Cases of Life and Death, as also not to be condemned without two Witnesses; with such like Benefits, which import much more their good than all the Taxations named can prejudice them.

Item, That some of the former Taxations be used in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, as may easily be brought about by the first Example thereof used in *England*, may very well be made to increase your Revenue there more than it is by 200000 *l. per Ann.*

Item,

Item, All Offices in the Land, great and small, in your Majesty's Grant may be granted with condition to pay you a part yearly according to the true value. This in time may be worth, as I conceive, an hundred thousand Pounds *per Annum*. Adding also Notaries, Attornies, and such like, to pay some proportion yearly towards it, for being allowed by your Majesty to practise, and prohibiting else any to practise in such Places.

Item, I know an assured Course in your Majesty's Navy, which may save at least Forty thousand Pounds *per Annum*; which requiring a whole Discourse by it self, I omit; only do promise you to do it whensoever you command.

Item, To reduce your Majesty's Household to Board-wages, as most other Princes do, reserving some few Tables. This will save your Majesty 60000 *l. per Annum*, and ease greatly the Subjects besides, both in Carriages and Provision, which is a good Reason that your Majesty in Honour might do it.

Item, Whereas your Majesty's Laws do command the strict keeping of Fasting-days, you may also prohibit on those Days to eat Eggs, Cheese, or white Meats, but such only as are contented to pay 18 *d. per Annum* for their liberty to eat them; and the better sort 10 *s.* The Employment of this may be for the Defence of the Land in maintaining the Navy, Garrisons and such like, much after the fashion of a *Cruzado* in Spain, as your Majesty knoweth.

Lastly, I have a Course upon Catholicks, and very safe for your Majesty being with their good liking, as it may be wrought to yield you presently at least 200000 *l. per Annum*, by raising a certain value upon their Lands, and some other Impositions, which requiring a long Discourse by it self, I will

will omit it here, setting it down in my Instructions : It will save your Majesty at the least 10000*l.* *per Annum*, to make it pain of Death and Confiscation of Goods and Lands for any of the Officers to couzen you, which now is much to be feared they do, or else they could not be so rich ; and herein to allow a fourth part Benefit to them that shall find out the Couzenage.

Here is not meant Officers of State, as the Lord Treasurer, &c. being Officers of the Crown. The Sum of all this amounteth to Two Millions and two hundred thousand Pounds *per Annum*. Suppose it be but one Million and a half, as surely your Majesty may make by the Courses set down ; yet is more than I promised in my Letter for your Majesty's Service, besides some Sums of Mony in present by the Courses following.

Imprimis, By the Prince's Marriage.

Secondly, To make all the Earls in *England* *Grandees*, as in *Spain* and *Principi*, with such like Priviledges, and to pay 20000 *l.* apiece for it.

Thirdly, Also if you make them Feodaries of the Towns belonging to their Earldoms, if they will for it——besides, as they do to the King of *Spain* in the Kingdom of *Naples*. And so likewise Barons to be made Earls and Peers, to pay Nineteen thousand Pounds apiece. I think it might yield Five hundred thousand Pounds, and oblige them more sure to your Majesty.

Fourthly, To make choice of two hundred of the richest Men in *England* in Estate that be not Noblemen, and make them Titular, as it is used in *Naples*, and paying for it: That is, a Duke thirty thousand Pounds, a Marquess fifteen thousand Pounds,

Pounds, an Earl ten thousand Pounds, a Baron or Viscount five thousand Pounds.

It is to be understood that ancient Nobility of Barons and Earls are to preceed these as Peers, tho' these be made Marquesses or Dukes. This may raise a Million of Pounds, and more to your Majesty. To make Gentlemen of low Quality, and Franklins or rich Farmers Esquires to preceed them, would yield your Majesty also a great Sum of Mony in present.

I know another Course to yield your Majesty Three hundred thousand Pounds in Mony, which as yet the time serveth not to deliver until your Majesty be resolved to proceed in some of the former Courses, which till then I omit.

Other Courses also that may make present Mony, I shall study for your Majesty's Service; and as I shall find them out acquaint you withal.

Lastly, To conclude all these Discourses by the Application of this Course used for your Profit, that is, not only the Means to make you the Richest King that ever *England* had, but also your Safety augmented thereby to be most secure. Besides what is shewed in the first part of this Discourse, I mean by the occasion of the Taxation, and raising of Monies, your Majesty shall have Cause and Means to imploy in all Places of the Land so many Officers and Ministers to be obliged to you for their own Profit and Interest, as nothing can be attempted against your Person and Royal State over the Land, but some of these shall in all probability have means to find it out and hinder it. Besides this Course will repress many Disorders and Abuses in the publick Government, which were hard to be discovered by Men indifferent.

To prohibit Gorgious and Costly Apparel to be worn but by Persons of good Quality, shall save the Gentry of the Kingdom much more Mony than they shall be Taxed to pay your Majesty.

Thus withal I humbly take my leave, and kifs your Gracious Hands, desiring Pardon for my Errors I may commit herein.

A Copy of the Commission produced by the Irish for justification of their Rebellion.

CHARLES by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all our Catholick Subjects within our Kingdom of Ireland, greeting: Know ye that we for the safeguard and preservation of our Person have been enforced to make our abode and residence in our Kingdom of Scotland for a long Season, occasioned by the obstinate and disobedient Carriage of our Parliament in England against us, who have not only presumed to take upon them the Government and disposing of those Princely Rights and Prerogatives that have justly descended upon us from our Predecessors both Kings and Queens of the said Kingdom for many hundred Years past, but also have possessed themselves of the whole Strength of the said Kingdom, in appointing Governors, Commanders and Officers, in all Parts and Places therein at their own Will and Pleasure, without our consent, whereby we are deprived of our Sovereignty, and left naked without Defence. And forasmuch as we are
in

in our self very sensible that these Storms blow aloft, and are very likely to be carried by the Vehemency of the Puritan Party into our Kingdom of *Ireland*, and endanger our Regal Power and Authority there also : Know ye therefore that we reposing much Care and Trust in your Duty and Obedience, which we have for many Years past found, do hereby give unto you full Power and Authority to assemble and meet together with all the speed and diligence that a Business of so great Consequence doth require, and to advise and consult together by sufficient and discreet numbers at all Times, Days and Places, which you shall in your Judgments hold most convenient and material, for the ordering, settling and effecting of this great Work (mentioned and directed unto you in our Letters) and to use all politick Ways and Means possible to possess your selves (for our Use and Service) of all the Forts, Castles and Places of Strength and Defence within the said Kingdom; (except the Places, Persons and Estates of our Loyal and Loving Subjects the *Scots*) and also to arrest and seize the Goods, Estates and Persons of all the English Protestants within the said Kingdom to our use. And in your Care and speedy Performance of this our Will and Pleasure, we shall perceive your wonted Duty and Allegiance to us, which we shall accept and reward in due time. Witness our self at *Edinburgh* the first day of *October*, in the seventeenth Year of our Reign.

Carolus Princeps Gregorio PP. 15.

Sanctissime Pater,

Beatitudinis vestrae literas non minore gratitudine
 & observantia accepimus, quam exigat, ex qua
 novimus exaratas, insignis benevolentia & pietatis
 affectus: Atque illud imprimis gratum fuit nunquam
 satis laudata Majorum exempla inspicienda nobis a
 Vestra Sanctitate atq; imitanda fuisse proposita; Qui
 licet multoties omnium fortunarum & vite ipsius dis-
 crimen adiverint, quo fidem Christianam laturo propa-
 garent, haud tamen alacriori animo in infestissimos
 Christi hostes Crucis Christi vexilla intulerunt, quam
 nos omnem opem & operam adhibebimus, ut quae tam
 diu exulavit Pax & Unitas, in Christianam Rempub-
 licam postliminio reducat. Cum enim Discordiarum
 Patris malitia inter illos ipsos qui Christianam profitentur
 religionem tam infelicia seminarit dissidia, hoc vel
 maxime necessarium ducimus ad sacro-sanctam Dei &
 Salvatoris Christi gloriam feliciter promovendam. Et
 non minori nobis honori futurum existimabimus tritam
 Majorum nostrorum vestigiis insistentes viam, in piis ac
 religiosis susceptis illorum aemulos atq; imitatores extitisse
 quam genus nostrum ab illis atq; originem duxisse. Atq;
 ad idem nos istud plurimum inflammat perspecta nobis
 Domini Regis ac Patris nostri voluntas, & quo flagrat
 desiderium ad tam Sanctum opus porrigendi manum
 auxiliatricem, tum qui Regium pectus exedit dolor, cum
 perpendit quam seve exoriantur strages quam deplo-
 randa calamitates ex Principum Christianorum dissentio-
 nibus. Judicium vero quod sanctitas vestra tulit de
 nostro cum Domo ac Principe Catholico affinitatem &
 nuptias

nuptias contrahendi desiderio, & Caritati vestra est consentaneum, nec a sapientia invenietur alienum. Nunquam tanto quo ferimur studio, nunquam tam arcto & tam indissolubili vinculo ulli mortalium conjungi cuperemus, cujus odio religionem prosequeremur. Quare Sanctitas vestra illud in animum inducat, ea modo nos esse semperq; futuros moderatione, ut quam longissime abfuturi simus ab omni opere quod odium testari possit ullam adversus religionem Catholicam Romanam: Omnes potius captabimus Occasionēs quo leni benignoque rerum cursu sinistra omnes suspensiones e medio penitus tollantur: Ut sicut omnes unam individuan Trinitatem & unum Christum crucifixum confitemur, in unam fidem unanimiter coalescamus: Quod ut assequamur labores omnes atq; vigilias, regnorum etiam atque vite pericula parvi pendimus. Reliquum est ut quas possumus maximas pro literis quas insignis muneris loco ducimus, gratias agentes Sanctitati vestra omnia prospera & felicitatem aternam comprecamur. Datum Madridi 20 Junii, 1623.

Prince

*Prince Charles to Pope Gregory 15.**Most Holy Father,*

WE have received your Holiness's Letter with no less Gratitude and Respect than is due to the singular good Will and pious Affection with which we know it was written. Nothing could be more acceptable to us than to find the renowned Examples of our Ancestors proposed to us by your Holiness for our Study and Imitation; who tho' they frequently hazarded both Lives and Fortunes to propagate the Christian Faith, yet never more chearfully carried the Ensigns of the Cross against the most mortal Enemies of Jesus Christ, than we will endeavour to the utmost of our Power to restore that Peace and Union which has been so long banished from the Christian Commonwealth. For since the Malice of the Father of Discord has sow'd such unhappy Divisions among those who profess the Christian Religion, we think such Endeavours to be absolutely necessary to promote the Glory of God and of Christ our Saviour. Nor shall we esteem it less Honour to tread in the same Path, and to be their Rivals and Imitators in pious and religious Undertakings, than to derive our Descent from them. And to this we are very much encouraged by the known Inclination of the King our Father, who desires nothing more ardently than to lend a helping Hand to so pious a Work, and feels the greatest anguish of Heart, when he considers the cruel Slaughters and deplorable Calamities that arise from the Dissentions of Christian Princes. The Judgment your Holiness makes of our Desire

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to

to contract an Alliance and Marriage with a Catholick Family and Princess, is not only agreeable to your Charity, but will also be found suitable to your great Wisdom. For we would not so vehemently desire to enter into so close and undissolvable an Engagement with any mortal Creature, whose Religion we hated. Therefore your Holiness may rest assured that our Moderation is and ever shall be such as will preserve us from any Action that may testify the least hatred to the *Roman* Catholick Religion; and that by easy and gentle Means we will rather embrace all Occasions of removing those invidious Impressions and Suspicions which are among us: That as we confess one individual Trinity, and one Christ crucified, so we may unanimously re-unite in one Faith; for the attainment of which we shall not only employ our vigilant Care and utmost Diligence, but most readily hazard our Life and Kingdoms. It remains only to give your Holiness our best Thanks for your Letter, which we esteem a most singular Present, and to wish your Holiness all manner of Prosperity and eternal Happiness. At *Madrid*,
June 20, 1623.

A Letter written by Robert Sidney Earl of Leicester, to Algernon Piercy Earl of Northumberland, touching the Service of Ireland.

My Lord,

THO' I have written thrice to the Commissioners for the Affairs of *Ireland* since my coming from *London*, to give them Account of my stay at Court, and that I have also written several Letters to some particular Friends, in hope that thereby the Truth might be known and my self rightly understood; yet because those Letters peradventure may have miscarried, and lest I should incur the censure of the Parliament for Negligence or Slackness in that Service to which I have been design'd, I will truly and as briefly as I can relate to your Lordship how I have behaved my self; and if your Lordship please you may communicate it to the House of Peers; as in your Judgment and Favour to me you shall think fit; and I hope it will appear that as I have been very impatient of this delay, so I have not wanted diligence in the Solicitation of my Dispatch.

When I came to *York*, I told the King that I was come thither to receive his Majesty's Commandments and Instructions for that Employment which he had done me the Honour to confer upon me, and I did humbly beseech him that I might not be staid at Court, because the Parliament did desire my speedy repair into *Ireland*, and that his Service, as I conceived, did require it; at least that some

Governor, if I were not worthy of that Charge, should be presently sent into that Kingdom. The King told me that he would think of it. But I must confess I did not find his Majesty so ready to dispatch me as I hoped and expected. From that time I did not fail to beseech his Majesty to send me away, upon every opportunity that I had of speaking to him; and I think there passed not a Day that I did not desire the Secretaries of State and some other Persons about the King, to put his Majesty in mind of me and to hasten my Dismission. Divers times I made it my Petition to the King that he would dispatch me, or declare his Intention that he would not let me go at all. The King said, My Instructions should be drawn, and that he would give order to Mr. Secretary *Nicholas* to do it as speedily as he could: In expectation whereof I staid about three Weeks till the King came from *York*, at which time his Majesty appointed me to follow him to *Nottingham*, promising that there I should have my Expeditions. I obey'd his Majesty and came after him to this Town, where I have attended ever since, perpetually soliciting to be dispatch'd, and beseeching his Majesty that I might either go to my Employment, or have his leave to retire my self to my own House and private Condition: That if he were unwilling to trust me in an Employment of so great Importance, I did beseech him that I might be no Burden to his Thoughts; and that he would be pleased to let me know his Resolution; because I conceived my self to be under a heavy Censure both of the Parliament and of the whole Kingdom, whilst possibly they might think it my Fault that I was so long absent from that Charge which I had undertaken. 'Tis to no purpose to tell you every Passage; but this I protest to your Lordship, That
if

if it had been to save the Lives of all my Friends and of my self, I could not have done more to procure my Dispatch. Nevertheless I have not been able to advance it one Step; nor have I seen any thing to make me hope to have it quickly, till this Morning Mr. Secretary *Nicholas* gave me a Draught of my Instructions to peruse. So I hope that between this and *Monday* I shall have done that part, and I will do the best I can to procure some other thing, without which I know not how I shall be able to do any acceptable Service in that Kingdom. Your Lordship knows I am a Servant, and I could not run away if I would, or at least it had been to little purpose, tho' I should have adventur'd to do so indecent and so undutiful an Action. Therefore I hope it will be believed that I have not been to blame. Now with your Lordship's leave I shall trouble you with another Particular, wherein perhaps I suffer in the Opinion of those who know not what has pass'd, tho' I be as innocent as a new-born Child; nay, I have opposed it as much as I had Power to do. The King being informed at *York* by some officious Persons, that certain Draught-Horses were provided to be sent into *Ireland*, his Majesty told me that he must needs have them for his own use. I did humbly beseech him not to take them away from his own Service in *Ireland*, for which they were bought, and in which they were to be employ'd; and besides what I said my self, I used means by others to save the Horses, so that I heard no more of it till I came hither; but then his Majesty told me again, That he must needs have those Horses, and pressed me to send for them. I represented to his Majesty the inconsiderableness of those few Horses, and that the Parliament might take it very ill, in regard that the Horses were bought with their Mony for the Service of the poor

Kingdom of *Ireland*: Therefore I did beseech him not to take them; or howsoever, that he would secure me from being an Instrument in that which I conceived would much hurt his Affairs; and that I being trusted by the Parliament, could neither do it my self, nor consent that any other should do that which was a Breach of Trust, and a great Dis-service even to his Majesty himself. Notwithstanding this the King sent to me by Mr. *Endymion Porter* and Sir *George Hay* at several times to the same purpose, but I returned the same Answer; adding this also, That I could not do it and be an honest Man to his Service, tho' it be true that the King said he would restore the Horses or pay for them. But for all this it pleased his Majesty to employ one *Errington* who served me, and gave him a Warrant to fetch the Horses. *Errington* told me of it; and I forbad him as far as I could, to do it, telling him that if he did, he must not look to have any thing to do with me for ever; and that I made no doubt the Parliament would hang him for stealing their Horses. This and more I said to *Errington* in the presence of *James Battiere* my Secretary, who will witness it: And conceiving it to be an unjust thing in it self, displeasing to the Parliament, and hurtful to the King's Service, I protested against it; tho' *Errington* said, that his Majesty had commanded him upon his Allegiance to execute the Warrant. But indeed I told him that I did not believe him; nor could think that his Majesty would command a Subject upon his Allegiance to take away other Mens Horses. This I thought sufficient; but it seems I was deceiv'd; for *Errington* without my consent or knowledge went from *Nottingham* towards *Chester* as I heard afterwards, and I have never seen him since nor heard from him. What he hath done I know not, but I sent to

Chester

Chester that the Horses should be presently shipp'd away, and I caused my Secretary to write to Master *Hawkin* to take care that neither *Errington* nor any Body from him should receive any more Mony of Mr. *Loftus* or his Deputy, to provide the rest of the Horses ; for as yet I think therè has been only Sixteen hundred Pounds issued to buy two hundred of the six hundred Horses allow'd by the Parliament ; and of that Sixteen hundred Pounds I will do the best I can to get a good Account , whereof the Parliament, God willing, shall be informed with my utmost Care and Diligence. Truly, my Lord, I do the best I can to serve my Country : They that are wiser may do more ; but of any thing contrary to the Duty of an honest Man, the Parliament upon strict examination shall never find me guilty. For the reputation of Honesty and Fidelity is, and I can say no more, as dear to me as your esteeming me

*Your Lordship's humble and
affectionate Servant,*

*Notingham, Sept.
1642.*

R. Leicester.

A Letter to the Queen, by the Lord George Digby.

Madam,

I Shall not adventure to write to your Majesty with Freedom but by Expresses, or till such time as I have a Cypher, which I beseech your Majesty to vouchsafe me. At this time therefore I shall only let your Majesty know, that the humblest and most faithful Servant you have in the World is here at *Middleburg*, where I shall remain in the privatest way I can, 'till I receive Instructions how to serve the King and your Majesty in these Parts. If the King betake himself to a safe Place, where he may avow and protect his Servants, from Rage I mean and Violence, for from Justice I will never implore it, I shall then live in Impatience and Misery till I wait upon you. But if after all he hath done of late he shall betake himself to the easiest and compliantest ways of Accommodation, I am confident that then I shall serve him more by my absence than by all my Industry: And it will be a Comfort to me in all Calamities, if I cannot serve you by my Actions, that I may do it in some kind by my Sufferings for your sake, having I protest to God, no measure of Happiness or Misfortune in this World, but what I derive from your Majesty's value of my Affection and Fidelity.

Middleburg, 21 Jan.

1641.

Another

*Another Letter to the Queen, from the Lord
George Digby.*

Madam,

TIS the first Contentment that I have been capable of this long time, that your Majesty is safely arrived in *Holland*, withdrawn from a Country so unworthy of you. I should have waited the first upon you, both to have rendred my Duty according to the precedence of my Obligation above others, and to have informed your Majesty the earliëst of the state of this Place whither you are coming, both in point of Affections and Interests; but that there fly about such Reports that the Parliament hath desired your Majesty not to admit me to your presence, as I dare not presume into it without particular permission. The ground of their Malevolence towards me in this particular is said to be, upon some Letters which they have presumed to open, directed to your Majesty from me; which I profess I cannot apprehend. For I am certain that I have not written to your Majesty the least Word that can be wrested to an ill Sense by my greatest Enemies, having not so much as mentioned any Business to your Majesty since I left *England*. To the King I confess I wrote once with that hardness which I thought his Affairs and Complexion requir'd; but that was sent by so safe Hands, as I cannot apprehend the miscarriage of it. However, *Madam*, if my misfortune be so great, that I must be deprived of the sole comfort of my Life, of waiting on your Majesty, and following your Fortunes, I beseech you
let

let my Doom be so signified to me as that I may retire with the least Shame that well may be, to bewail my Unhappiness; which yet will be supportable, if I may but be assured that inwardly that generous and princely Heart preserves me the place of

Madam,

Hague, Mar. 10.

1642.

*Your Majesty's most faithful,
and most affectionate
humble Servant.*

*The Form of a Bill for a new Coronation-Oath,
pursuant to the Treaty in the Isle of Wight.*

WHEREAS the solemn Oaths and Stipulations of Kings to their People at their Inaugurations to their Crowns, and the renewing and enlarging of them after Civil Breaches and Wars, have been reputed and found a principal and most effectual Means to preserve Peace and Amity between them and their People, and prevent unjust Incroachments upon their Subjects Rights, Laws and Liberties: And whereas by reason of some Alterations made without Authority of Parliament in the Oath which his Majesty took at his Coronation, and of the late unhappy Differences between him and his Houses of Parliament, there is just and necessary occasion administered to alter and enlarge the ancient Oath and Stipulation of the Kings of *England* to their People, for the better

better composing of the present Differences, and preventing all future Breaches and Incroachments upon the Laws and Liberties of the Subject, and the introducing and exercising of all Arbitrary and Tyrannical Power ; Be it therefore Ordained and Enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That the King's Majesty upon his return to this present Parliament, and at all other times when both Houses of Parliament shall require the same, and his Heirs and Successors Kings and Queens of this Realm at their Coronations, and at all times else when their Parliaments shall think fit, shall take this ensuing Oath before both Houses of Parliament, to be administered by the Speaker of the Lord's House for the time being, in Form following.

We *CHARLES* King of *England*, in the Name and Presence of the most High God, do solemnly swear and protest to all our Subjects and Liege-People of this our Realm of *England*, That we shall and will to the uttermost of our Skill and Power all the Days of our Reign over them, inviolably keep, preserve and maintain the true Reformed Religion and Confession of Faith therein established, and all just Laws, Customs, Rights, Franchises and Liberties heretofore granted to all or any of our said Subjects and People by our Royal Predecessors or our Self, together with the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament, and likewise endeavour to preserve intirely Peace and Amity between all our Subjects and People, and cause equal Justice to be administered to them in Mercy and Truth, without Partiality, Affection or Delay.

That

That we will neither proclaim nor make any open War Foreign or Domestick, nor raise any Forces, in nor invite or introduce any Foreign Power into our said Realm, nor conclude any publick Truce or Peace, nor impose nor levy any Tax, Talliage, Contribution, Aid or Benevolence on our said Subjects and People, nor embace nor inhaunce the Current Coin of this Kingdom, nor alienate any Honours, Mannors, Lands, Rents, Demeasnes, Castles, Forts, Jewels, Ships or Ammunition, belonging to the Crown of this our Realm; nor dispose of our Self nor of our Heir apparent to the Crown in Marriage; nor confer any of the great Offices of State or Judicature within this our Realm; nor create any new Peer or Baron thereof; nor erect or maintain any Monopoly against Law; nor grant any Dispensation for the Breach of any Penal Statute of this Realm whiles in Force, without common Consent in Parliament.

That we will duly cause a Parliament to be summoned within this our Realm once every Year or three Years at least, according to the Statutes in that behalf provided; and will likewise give our Royal Assent from time to time for altering or repealing all such old Laws as shall be held prejudicial, and passing all such new Bills and Statutes as shall be judged necessary and beneficial for our said Subjects and People by both our Houses of Parliament upon mature Debate.

And if we shall at any time (which God defend) wilfully violate this our solemn Oath and Protestation in all or any part of the Premisses, to the Grievance and Prejudice of our said Subjects and People, and shall not upon due Information thereof by one or both Houses of Parliament, or by those intrusted by them with the Militia of this Kingdom,

dom, or by our great Officers and Council of State in the intervals of Parliament redress the same, We do hereby freely and voluntarily protest before God and the World, that then and from thenceforth it shall and may be lawful for the said Houses of Parliament during their Session, and for the greatest part of those intrusted by them with the Militia, or for our great Officers and Council of State in the intervals of Parliament, and for all or any of our Subjects and People by their Direction and Command, to assemble together in Arms, and by open Force or otherwise to redress the same, and to withstand and resist us, and to apprehend and surprize all such Persons and Forces as shall be aiding or assisting to us therein, without incurring the Guilt of Treason, Sedition, Insurrection, Rebellion, Breach of Allegiance, or any other Crime, Forfeiture or Penalty : It being done in Defence of their just Rights, Laws and Liberties, to which they are obliged by the Law of God and Nature.

And that all and every Person or Persons who shall be willingly aiding, counselling or assisting to us in such Cases and Breaches of all or any Clause of this our solemn Oath, shall and may be presently proceeded against in due Form of Law, and adjudged and executed as Traytors and publick Enemies to Us and this our Realm, or otherwise punished according to the quality and degree of their Offence.

And all this we do cordially and sincerely swear and protest without any Equivocation or Mental Reservation; and that we will neither directly or indirectly seek to be absolved from this our Oath.

So God us help.

Dis

Die Lune, 1 Decemb. 1645.

THE House of Commons doth declare, That it shall be an acceptable Service for any Person or Persons to inform this House of any Member or Members of this House, that by himself or others, directly or indirectly, hath taken or received any Mony or other Thing of any Person or Persons, for any Matter or Thing depending in this House, or any Committee of this House, since the beginning of this Parliament. And the House hath appointed a Committee to receive any such Informations, who are to sit in the Exchequer-Chamber upon *Thursday* next in the Afternoon, and so from time to time: And the Members of this House are hereby enjoyned, if any of them know of any such Thing so taken, in manner, as aforesaid, by any other of the Members, that they do repair to the said Committee and inform them of the same.

A Letter

A Letter written by Command of King Charles the Second, concerning the Marquiss of Antrim.

C H A R L E S R.

Right trusty and well-beloved Cousins and Counsellors, &c. we greet you well. How far we have been from Interposing on the behalf of any of our Irish Subjects, who by their Miscarriages in the late Rebellion in that Kingdom of *Ireland*, had made themselves unworthy of our Grace and Protection, is notorious to all Men; and we were so jealous in that particular, that shortly after our return into this our Kingdom, when the Marquiss of *Antrim* came hither to present his Duty to us, upon the Information we received from those Persons who then attended us by a Deputation from our Kingdom of *Ireland*, or from those who at that time owned our Authority there, that the Marquiss of *Antrim* had so misbehaved himself towards Us and our late Royal Father of Blessed Memory, that he was in no degree worthy of the least Countenance from Us, and that they had manifest and unquestionable evidence of such his Guilt. Whereupon we refused to admit the said Marquiss so much as into our Presence, but on the contrary committed him Prisoner to our Tower of *London*, where after he had continued several Months under a strict restraint, upon the continued Information of the said Persons we sent him into *Ireland*, without interposing the least on his behalf, but left him to undergo such a Trial and Punishment as by the Justice of that our Kingdom
should

should be found due to his Crime, expecting still that some heinous Matter would be objected and proved against him, to make him incapable, and to deprive him of that Favour and Protection from us, which we knew his former Actions and Services had merited. After many Months attendance there, and, we presume, after such Examinations as were requisite, he was at last dismiss'd without any Censure, and without any transmission of Charge against him to us, and with a License to transport himself into this Kingdom. We concluded that it was then time to give him some instance of our Favour, and to remember the many Services he had done, and the Sufferings he had undergone for his Affection and Fidelity to our Royal Father and our Self, and that it was time to redeem him from those Calamities, which yet do lie as heavy upon him since, as before our happy return; and thereupon we recommended him to you our Lieutenant, that you should move our Council there, for preparing a Bill to be transmitted to us, for the re-investing him the said Marquiss into the possession of his Estate in that our Kingdom, as had been done in some other places: To which Letter you our said Lieutenant returned us answer, That you had informed our Council of that our Letter, and that you were upon Consideration thereof, unanimously of Opinion, That such a Bill ought not to be transmitted to us, the Reasons whereof would forthwith be presented to us from our Council. After which time we received the inclosed Petition from the said Marquiss, which we referr'd to the Consideration and Examination of the Lords of our Privy Council, whose Names are mentioned in that our Reference, which is annexed to the said Petition; who thereupon met together, and after having heard the Marquiss of *Antrim*,
did

did not think fit to make any Report to us, till they might see and understand the Reasons which induced you not to transmit the Bill we had proposed, which Letter was not then come to our Hands. After which time we have received your Letter of the 18th of *March*, together with several Petitions which had been presented to you as well from the old Soldiers and Adventurers as from the Lady Marchioness of *Antrim*, all which we likewise transmitted to the Lords Referees: Upon a second Petition presented to us by the Lord Marquess, which is here likewise inclosed, commanding our said Referees to take the same into their serious Consideration, and to hear what the Petitioner had to offer in his own Vindication, and to report the whole Matter to us, which upon a third Petition herein likewise inclosed, we required them to expedite with what speed they could. By which deliberate Proceedings of ours you cannot but observe, that no Importunity how just soever, could prevail with us to bring our Self to a Judgment in this Affair without very ample Information. Our said Referees after several Meetings and perusal of what hath been offered to them by the said Marquess, have reported unto us, That they have seen several Letters, all of them of the Hand-writing of our Royal Father to the said Marquess, and several Instructions concerning his treating and joining with the Irish in order to the King's Service, by reducing them to their Obedience, and by drawing some Forces from them for the Service of *Scotland*: That besides the Letters and Orders under his Majesty's Hand, they have received sufficient Evidence and Testimony of several private Messages and Directions sent from our Royal Father, and from our Royal Mother with the Privy and with the Directions of the King our

Father, by which they are persuaded, that whatever Intelligence, Correspondence or Actings, the said Marquess had with the Confederate Irish Catholics, was directed or allow'd by the said Letters, Instructions and Directions; and that it manifestly appears to them, That the King our Father was well pleased with what the Marquess did after he had done it, and approved the same. This being the true state of the Marquess his Case, and there being nothing proved upon the first Information against him, nor any thing contained against him in your Letter of *March* 18th, but that you were informed he had put in his Claim before the Commissioners appointed for executing the Act of Settlement, and that if his Innocence be such as is alledg'd, there is no need of transmitting such a Bill to us as is desir'd; and that if he be nocent, it consists not with the Duty which you owe to us to transmit such a Bill, as if it should pass into a Law, must needs draw a great Prejudice upon so many Adventurers and Soldiers, who are, as is alledged, to be therein concerned. We have considered the Petition of the Adventurers and Soldiers, which was transmitted to us by you; the Equity of which consists in nothing, but that they have been peaceably in possession for the space of 7 or 8 years of those Lands which were formerly the Estate of the Marquess of *Antrim* and others, who were all engaged in the late Irish Rebellion, and that they shall suffer very much and be ruined, if those Lands should be taken from them. And we have likewise considered another Petition from several Citizens of *London* near sixty in number, directed to our Self, wherein they desire, That the Marquess his Estate may be made liable to the payment of his just Debts, that so they may not be ruined in the Favour of the present Possessors, who they say are
but

but a few Citizens and Soldiers, who have disburs'd very small Sums thereon. Upon the whole Matter, no Man can think we are less engaged by our Declaration and by the Act of Settlement, to protect those who are innocent, and who have faithfully endeavoured to serve the Crown, how unfortunate soever, than to expose to Justice those who have been really and maliciously guilty. And therefore we cannot in Justice, but upon the Petition of the Marquess of *Antrim*, and after a serious and strict Inquisition into his Actions, declare unto you, That we do find him Innocent from any Malice or Rebellious Purpose against the Crown; *and that what he did by way of Correspondence or Compliance with the Irish Rebels, was in order to the Service of our Royal Father and warranted by his Instructions, and the Trust reposed in him; and that the Benefit thereof accrued to the Service of the Crown, and not to the particular Advantage and Benefit of the Marquess.* And as we cannot in Justice deny him this Testimony, so we require you to transmit our Letter to our Commissioners, that they may know our Judgment in this Case of the Lord of *Antrim*, and proceed accordingly: And so we bid you heartily Farewel.

*Given at our Court of Whitehall, July 10, 1663.
in the fifteenth Year of our Reign.*

*To our right trusty By His Majesty's Command,
and right intirely well
beloved Cousin and*

Henry Bennet.

*Counsellor James Duke
of Ormond, our Lieutenant-General and
General Governør of
our Kingdom of Ire-
land, and to the
Lords of our Council
of that our Kingdom.*

Signet-Office, July 13, 1663.

*Her Majesty's Letter to George Lord Digby.
Paris, April, 7. 1645.*

Monsieur Digby,

THough I received no Letters from you by *Pooley*, I will not forbear to write to you, though it were but to reproach you, and to tell you, that I fear that you are as inconstant to your Friends as Men are to their Mistresses; I do not speak of you; you know that I am too well acquainted with you. For my part, I have only this fault, to be a good Friend, and I believe you know it, therefore it will not be necessary to assure you thereof. I have seen the Dispatch that you sent to *Fermin* concerning *Hertogen*; I believe that you will rest satisfied, for I have the same Opinion of him that you have, and many of those Things that he hath written are Lies, and within few days you shall hear that I have talk'd with him according to his desert; which I am resolved to do, for some Reasons that *Fermyn* will write to you in Cypher. You think it strange that *Wilmot* is so well entertained here, which is done according to the Orders which I have under the King's Hand and yours: It is true, his good Carriage here hath merited this good entertainment. *Henry Piercy* and he are not so good Friends as we thought; we have discovered it in some occasions, where there can be no dissembling. Concerning *Tho. Eliot*, he hath behaved himself well here, and hath so earnestly importuned me for his return, that having no Order from the King to tell him that he should stay, I could not keep him longer here. For my part, I believe that he

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is very trusty, I have charged him to impart unto you what I told him ; therefore I shall not write any more, my Hand being more lame than ever, and I more

Your very good Friend,

Henriette Marie R.

Dr. Goff to the Lord Jermin. April 17.

THE Prince of *Orange* was very inquisitive this Week after my Letters from *Paris*, hoping to be resolved precisely concerning the Sum of the Portion, as I perceived by his Discourse : For that Point, I gave him this Answer, That the Portion alone could not be of that consideration as to conclude the Marriage, unless it were able to give the King such Succours as might probably restore his Affairs, which the Sum demanded could not do ; And that therefore I was ordered to assure him, that if the other Articles were accorded, the Treaty should not break off upon the Sum of the Portion: From thence we came off of the other Particulars, and the Resolution was this, That the Affair of the Duke of *Lorraine* was to be pursued with all vigor, and for that end Ships should be sent from hence to meet at the time prefixt, that when the Ambassadors are returned, all Endeavours shall be used to induce the States to a League defensive and offensive ; and that Monsieur *D'Estrade* shall return home fully instructed in these Particulars, that is, to remonstrate the impossibi-

lity (as they call it) of the passage for *Holland*, and to facilitate the other to and from *Diep*; And for the second, to perswade the sending of an Ambassador from *France* hither to that purpose; Which yet notwithstanding the Prince of *Orange* thinks will be very difficult, by reason of the King of *Denmark's* War, to which the *Hollanders* are violently carried: However, all Endeavors are and shall be used to bring them to our Desires, for which end I proposed that in the mean time we might at least have Justice from them, and such Acts of Amity, as by their past Alliance they were bound unto: Such as are, First, the liberty of their Ports to our Men of War, and the Freedom of them now detained. Secondly, The liberty to sell our Prizes here as we may do in *Flanders*, at least that both sides may sell in their Ports. Thirdly, The dismissal of *Strickland*. Fourthly, The permitting of Arms and Mony to be exported for the King both from hence and from *Dunkirk*, with the denial of the same to the Rebels. Fifthly, An open and publick Declaration of their dislike of the Rebels late Propositions sent to the King, according as in Conscience they are bound to declare, thereby to preserve this People from the guilt of approving the Rebellion in *England*; That in so doing they should declare no War against the Parliament, and it would be a great preparation for the work in hand: This the Prince of *Orange* seemed very much to approve of, and hath ordered me to prepare my Papers in this kind against the time that their Ambassadors come from *England*; And began to ask me concerning the Design, and whether I had received any Orders about it: For that I told him I should be particularly instructed by the next Post; he likes this very well,

well, and *D'Estrade* shall be instructed about it : This was all that past since the receipt of yours, besides that for conclusion the Prince of *Orange* would know , whether if the Duke should fail us, our Treaty were at an end. I answered, No, for if the States would be brought to declare for the King, with Shipping, and in other Particulars, as should be presented to them , I did not doubt but the King would quickly subdue the Rebels, which was the end we pursued in this Affair : To which when he replied with more chearfulness than has been usual of late, That all Endeavours should be used, I took my leave of him, and do of your———
 There's no danger in discoursing, as you find, concerning the Portion ; for the Conditions for the Princess must be proportionable to it ; And if other things be accorded, they will be solicitous themselves to enlarge the Portion : For that end the Princess of *Orange* is very civil to me, and desires much the Business should go on. I should be instructed what to say concerning the condition and habitation of the Princess before her going into *England*.

Dr. Goff to the Lord Jermin. April 24.

I Will not doubt but that all my Letters of last Week are received ; and if so, your Lordship doth perceive the whole Negotiation here depends upon full Instructions how to proceed in the particular Treaty of the Marriage ; wherein the several Circumstances being understood and agreed, it will quickly appear what the Prince of *Orange* is at, and willing to do with the States for the King's assistance, without the actual performance whereof, it is to be declared, that the private Articles shall not be Signed. For this purpose, if the Copies of former Treaties cannot be had, it were necessary to set down particularly what Houses and what Dowry the Queen will prescribe for the Princess ; and for the Portion, the lowest Sum that must be admitted of, with the times of payment. Yet herein it cannot be prejudicial to leave much unto Debate here, it being resolved, That nothing shall be concluded till the States do fully declare in Defence of the King. Whilst their Hands are busie against *Denmark* (whither they are now sending Sixty Men of War, and Six thousand Foot) it cannot be expected that they should be induced to supply the King with any Forces presently ; but yet these Things following will be in their Power, and may be expected from the Prince of *Orange's* Negotiation with them, as soon as their Ambassadors return: 1. To enter into a League Offensive and Defensive with the King, against all Enemies whatsoever : And though the effect hereof cannot be the present preparing and sending of

of Forces by Sea and Land, yet they will be brought to it. 2. To publish a Declaration of dislike of the Rebels later Propositions sent to the King; together with the ill usage of their Ambassadors. 3. To set at liberty those Ships of ours which are now detained, and to offer the liberty of their Ports hereafter. 4. To permit the selling of our Prizes in their Ports; and for that end, such Officers for the King as shall be necessary. 5. To cause Arms and Powder to be Exported for the King, with denying the same to the Rebels. 6. To give Letters of reprisal to such of their own People as have been injured by the Parliament. 7. To permit the King to hire or buy Men of War in these Countries, to set to Sea against the Rebels. 8. To admit of no Agents from *England* and *Scotland* that are not sent by the King, and to dismiss them that pretend from the Parliament of either: And in pursuance of these Points, if his Majesty please to put out of his Protection all such of his Subjects which dwell or Trade here, as have assisted the Rebellion in *England*, the States may proceed to such Confiscation and Penalties as they shall think fit, whereby the King may find a considerable Profit, and they be invited to a more vigorous Conjunction with him; and if this be done for the present (*France* concurring in the same Particulars) it is apparent, by God's Blessing, that the King must needs overcome the Rebels, if he can but keep his Person and the Prince's out of their Hands, till his Friends that are join'd in League with him can send more powerful Assistance.

Though the Portion with the Princess were as much as was demanded, and paid by several parts, as the Prince of *Orange* should be able, it were not possible by that to serve the King to any effect, unless

less these Things mentioned were together obtained, whereby *London* might be impoverished, which is and will be the Fountain of all this Mischief: And on the other side, let the Portion be never so small and ill paid, yet if these Things be done, and the King by vertue of this Marriage enabled to borrow Mony, or by any means to appear stronger at Sea than they, and at Land with the same Power he hath formerly done, by God's Blessing, he will be quickly restor'd, which will give all the World full Satisfaction concerning this Treaty, and make the Conditions Honourable beyond all question. Upon these Considerations, I believe your Lordship may approve what I wrote by Monsieur *D'Estrade*, and send some Orders accordingly for proceeding in the Treaty of the Marriage apart from other Things.

And for them, besides what I am instructed to do already with the Prince of *Orange*, it will be very necessary to write to Sir *William Boswel*, that upon the coming of the *Holland* Ambassadors from *England*, he according to his Office be instant with the States, to perform the Duties of their former Alliances with the King; and that he make such other Propositions to them as he shall judge fit: But when the Prince of *Orange* shall find Matters succeed well, it will be necessary that your Lordship in the Quality of an Ambassador appear here, to make a firm and quick Conclusion.

In the mean time, it is the Opinion of the Prince of *Orange*, That the Business of Shipping is without question the sole Thing which ought to be intended by the Queen, and may probably restore the King's Affairs again, though the Duke of *Lorrain's* Voyage, and the Prince of *Orange's* Endeavors should fail. When I wrote from *Rotterdam*,

dam, I was not clearly satisfied in the Advantages on the King's part, and since that the Sickness of *Dorp* (who is now perfectly recovered again, and fixedly disposed as he was) kept me from the particular pursuit of that Argument, wherein your Lordship had just cause to be little encouraged with what I wrote before ; if it be possible to provide Mony, it will prove an excellent Design, for the whole execution is to be disposed of by the King as absolutely as if they were English Ships, and the Commanders English, the intention being not for *P.* and *Q.* but for the Honour and Service of the King, for which purpose *Dorp* desires to have large and particular Instructions; also some Person of Trust and Courage to be a Shipboard with him by whom he might correspond with the Queen ; and that his Majesty would appoint some Ports to which all Prizes might be brought, and there judged, which he desires should be principally 1.——and there Officers of Trust to be established, all which shall be particularly set down under his own Hand, and before conclusion of the Matter be made, be considered by the Prince of *Orange*, who talks of this particular with pleasure : The condition for himself is very short but very great, to prescribe nothing, but trust the King and Queen in that point; but for his Officers, he expects liberal Pay and Reward, as it shall be deserved : So that in all respects, this is to be esteemed his Majesty's Royal Execution ; but that the Commanders and Masters are Strangers, and Ships hired. And it is here pronounced by all that have knowledge of their Majesty's Affairs, and any Thoughts and Endeavours for their Restitution, that this is so necessary to be done, that without it all other good Successes will but serve to protract
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the War, and not at all to procure Peace; for till *London* be humbled, the Rebels can never be reduc'd to Reason; but I know Arguments in this kind are not so needful as Prayers, that God would send some means to provide the Mony.

For the Garter which is designed for the young Prince, it is very earnestly desired by them all, and shall be constantly worn by the Prince in that manner as in *England*: The Prince of *Orange* desires that the King would write himself to him concerning it, as also to the States, and that it may be conferred after the same manner as it was to the P. Elector in the Field, if it might, before the beleaguering of any Town begun: But of these Things both Sir *William Boswel*, who hopes to be employed in it, and Mr. *Hemfleet* will write at large.

Lord Jermin to the Lord Digby. Paris,
May 19.

I Wrote to you yesterday by Colonel *Fitz-Williams*, I conceive you will find cause to take the Business that concerned him into consideration: I have sent you now a Copy of Dr. *Goff's* Dispatch out of *Holland*, by which you will see the state of that Business reduced to this only Hope, That the return of the Ambassadors out of *England* may not only give Prince *Orange* a disposition to set on foot that which before he was not confident enough of his own Strength to attempt, but also afford him some hopes of effecting it; of this we shall see a sudden issue; the other Advantages we expect from thence, as the Ships for the D. of *Lorrain*, and Supplies of Mony by the Marriage, are in an Estate not much to be relied on; for the Business of the Duke, I much fear will away; the Mony of the Marriage will not be considerable enough to conclude it; for that reason it may be we may single that advantage from the rest, even without the consideration of the Marriage: So that we have no more to do, but to attend the issue of the hopes of the Declaration, and according to that, proceed or let fall the whole Business, and look after—— as a thing to be managed according to the means we shall find here to go through with it. We shall know next Week what to depend upon for the Duke of *Lorrain*, which failing, we shall presume our Pretensions here for Monies in place of that which that Expedition would have cost them here. The Clergy assembles next Week, with whom we shall set on foot the liberty the
French

French Queen Regent hath given us to try their Inclinations for the support of the Affairs of *England*. *Trasdunk* is gone from *Dunkirk* three Weeks since with four Frigats, 6040 Muskets, 2000 pair of Pistols, 1200 Carabines, Swords, 400 Shovels, 27000 Pounds of Match, and 50000 Pounds of Brimstone. I hope he is arrived before now: His Arms were all embarked before *Allen* arrived there; so that I cannot assure you that *Allen* will be provided with that proportion which I sent you word would be sent to Marquess *Montrosse*. The Queen hath sent 400 Barrels of Powder to *Dartmouth*; she hath advice of the arrival of 200, and hopes the other will speedily arrive: She could not get the Merchants to undertake the Carriage of them, without ingaging her self for them, in case they were not paid in *England*. The Queen hath now received, as I wrote before, the King's Order for Shipping for the Tin from time to time; whereupon last Week she gave Order for 4000 Pounds Sterling to be sent to *Falmouth*, for that proportion which she was advertised by Sir *Nicholas Crisp* would be ready there at the end of *May*, and hath demanded a Ship of the Prince of *Orange* for that purpose: She had advised last Week, that the Ship is accorded so, that it is undoubtedly upon the way. The King's Order concerning the Tin was but during pleasure; therefore, pray have a care there be no change, without giving the Queen timely advice of it. Her Majesty having been served by Sir *Nicholas Crisp* at her coming out of *England* with affection and diligence, is desirous to make him some return; and therefore intreats you to assist him in his Affairs, as he shall present them to you particularly, for the transportation of some Wools; the proceed of which he undertakes to return in Ammunition. He is also a Suitor to the Queen
for

for her Recommendation to the King, to be a Collector of the Customs in the West, in which he had formerly a promise : Pray advise me in your next, how far the Queen may reasonably interpose in that particular. For the Proposition concerning the Duke of *York's* going into *Ireland*, the Queen bids me tell you, That she cannot yet, for any reason she can discern, approve of it. The Business of her Majesty's Jewels is so pressing upon her, that unless in the future she be as fortunate as she hath been hitherto, she will undergo great Trouble and Inconvenience : That you may perceive this, I send you a short Note of the Parcels engaged in *Holland*, for which there must be Use duly paid every six Months, or the Jewels must be lost : For these Sums for which they are pawned for, are very inferior to their value. For this reason it is most necessary to continue the Tin in the Queens Hands, lest she should fail of those other means, that hitherto she hath had for the discharge of these Instructions ; if otherwise she finds means to do it, then all the Profits of the Tin will be duly accounted for to the King. Just now your Letter of *April* the 11th, and the King's of the 10th are come, to which you can have no Answer this Week ; they always come to us not under a Months time, whereas I perceive you receive ours in a Fortnight. Pray rectifie this if you can.

Lord

Lord Jermin to the Lord Digby. Paris,
May 26, 1645.

Y^Esterday I received yours of the seventeenth of *April* by the *Portugal* Ambassador, by which you may please to observe, That all your Letters by that way are still a Month at least a coming ; it will be good to enquire where the stop is made ; at the same time I received the King's of the Thirtieth of *April* by *Sabran*, and I mark that by him they come still quicker : By both, and by all other concurring, I see that our Affairs in *England*, if they had received any competent assistance from abroad, would have been in an excellent condition ; that which I most lament, is the Queens inability in the relief of Marquess *Montrosse*, for which I conceive she had provided by ordering *Hasdouck* to furnish him out of the proportions he had provided for *England*. The proportions designed for him, I have mentioned in my former Letters, but *Hasdouck* would not obey the Queens Directions, but carried all he had provided into *England*, so that the Queen remaining without credit, or other means to do that Work, it remains now imperfect until she be furnished with one or the other : Something she hath since attempted, but it is not to be relied on this *May*, that no possible Things within her Power shall be omitted for this purpose, for she conceives the importance of it even beyond that which you have represented. Our *Holland* News from *Scotland*, which we have often, do no less than yours confirm the necessity and moment of this consideration. I send you herewithal what I had last Week
from

from Doctor Goff, by which you will perceive there is since the return of the Ambassador, some new hopes of prevailing with the States for the Declaration against the Rebels, which is a thing of so great concernment, that we must make it our endeavour not to frustrate the hopes of it by a sudden breaking off the Treaty, and to defend ourselves against the Prejudices we sustain by the expectation of the Success; for that cannot be assured enough, to rely on it for great present Utilities; and methinks it were a hard thing, being thus awakned in the consideration, to provide against both the Inconveniences. The Duke of *Lorraine* hath again this last Week made so many new Protestations of his Intentions, that the most positive Commands that could be to Sir *Hen. de Vic.* have not prevailed with him to break off the Treaty, but his Troops now March, though himself do not remain at *Bruxels*; so that it will be impossible for any Art to prolong the Business beyond four or five days, but there is no hopes to be allowed to it. The Businesses here to be done, which shall be carefully attended, are, That of *Holland*, the Form I have proposed in this Letter; the supply of Marquess *Montrofs* with Arms and Ammunition; the West with the same for the Prince's new Levies, and for the Supply of the King's and Prince *Rupert's* Army, and the relief of *Garnsey*; for the Prince of *Wales* his Army *Will. Godolphin* is very solicitous, what he will be able to effect; is as doubtful as the Queens expectation in all the other Particulars; Money for the King is also in her Thoughts and Pretensions; and now the Clergy is assembled, upon which many of our hopes have depended, she will with all the instance and care that may be have that way attempted. We

are at this time strangely solicitous for you, for there seems to be a gathering together on both sides near *Oxford*, like to produce some notable Encounter, which cannot well be followed but with great Events; God make them prosperous, and enable us here to contribute something more hereunto than our Prayers.

I am yours.

Your last concerning Tho. Eliot, where you seem to take notice we had not here provided according to Order, is answered in my former ones, so as I am confident you are fully satisfied in that Point.

Lord

Lord Jermin to the Lord Digby. Paris;
June 9, 1645.

Yesterday I received yours of *April* the twenty ninth from *Oxford*, whereby I must needs observe to you ours are received in half the time that yours are coming hither; now you are removed from *Oxford* I fear it will yet be harder for you to send to *London* about all Things. The Queen recommends it to you; I send you here inclosed Dr. *Goff's* last Dispatch Word for Word, by that you will see the estate of that Business. Sir *H. de Vic* is now here, yesterday arrived with the Dukes last Demands; to Morrow he attends Cardinal *Mazarin* and as soon as the Answer is gotten, and Queen Regent's Resolution in a Supply of Arms and Ammunition we have now demanded, to which already we have some Promises advanced, *Petit* shall be dispatched, who is staid for that end, and to return to us with some Information of the state you are in, which the last Letters speak so variously of, that we are in much Pain. Arms and Ammunition I will be again confident we shall speedily get; but for Money, I can give no good hopes of it, although the Clergy be now altogether, from whom we have so many Expectations. Sir *Kenelm Digby* is arrived at *Rome*, hath had Audience of the Pope, who hath given him the best reception that the first Visit was capable of, that is, the fairest Promises in general that can be wished; if he may be relied on, there are good hopes of Money there, but you know he is of a Sanguine Family; and himself yet the Melancholiest of it; he hath visited some other of the petty

Princes of *Italy*, but they are a frugal Generation. *Talbot* is coming from *Venice* without any effect of his Voyage: A Man the Queen sent four Months ago into *Scotland* to the Marquess of *Montros*, this day arrived: It gives me *Hasdoun* did not obey the Queen's Order for his Supply, but now again that shall be suddenly attempted, I hope with better Success, yet his arrival in the West hath been very opportune for the Designs of the Prince of *Wales* there, which I observe to you as a Service solely of the Queens; for nothing but her Commands could prevail with him to undertake this Supply, therefore pray give him what Help you can to get his Mony. Pray commend my Service to Prince *Rupert*, and make my Excuse I write not to him; by something I hear I hope you two are good Friends, which I much rejoyce at, and conjure you to do all you can to the continuance of it if it be so, and to the making of it so if it be otherwise. I rest yours.

The Queen hath written her self to the King.

You will find in Dr. *Goff*'s Letter several Things desired to be sent from *England*, all in my Judgment most material, and therefore to be hastned to him or Sir *William Boswel*, with the greatest expedition that can be. He proposeth the sending of my Man (*Carteret* being already gone to *Holland* with Instructions for the Business of the Tin) to attend that in *England*, who may perhaps not follow the Doctors Order in coming to you for these Things; therefore I pray you, as soon as you receive this, let them be dispatched and sent by an Express to yours.

Lord

Lord Jermin to the Lord Digby. St. Germain,
August 5, 1646.

I Wrote to you yesterday by the Ordinary ; Something I have to add by this Express the Queen sends to visit the King, and to bring her back an accompt of his Health, and of the state of his Affairs. Her resolution of sending *Cockeram* into *Denmark*, is without doubt very opportune ; For upon the conclusion of the Peace with the *Suedes* he cannot but be in a condition to help us, and if as it shall be in the first place demanded, he could be prevailed with to give us such an Army as might land in any place where the King hath no Forces, without fearing who they meet, their Descent at *Scarborough* or *Burlington* would give a new turn to all ; But this is a Felicity I dare not hope. That which with more assurance I look upon, which in the second place shall be solicited, would be of infinite use, That is, a small number of Men, some Mony, Arms and Ammunition, and all to go to *Scotland* to Marquess *Montross* : But the Men in that case must some of them be Horsemen, five hundred at least, and their Horse to pass with them : This I conceive would enable Marquess *Montross* to make his Victories profitable as well as miraculous : But in the mean Estate he is, for want of Horse (for all that he complains in his Letter to me) and of Arms and Ammunition, his Advantages have brought almost none to the King his Affairs, for he advances not into the good parts of *Scotland*, nor is so considerable to the Army in *England*, as that they have forbore for fear of him to leave their Country exposed to him : I cannot

send you by this Bearer so great a Volume as *Cockeram's* Instructions would be, but you shall have them by the next: He shall have order to offer the Islands that *Pooley* had order to offer to the King of *Denmark*. The Winter growing on makes me not apprehend that all our Losses can bring us so soon to an end as this Summer, and the ill Weather will reprieve us until either this or some other Help be found out. The Queen is therefore now more industrious than ever, and hath found means to get twenty thousand Pistols for —————

I once wrote to you of, so that if the Persons that should have undertaken it be still of the same Mind, and the Prince of *Orange*, which we have written to know, that Business will go forward and may prove of great use in many Considerations; but the importantest Aim in it is the insensible ingaging the *Hollanders* in the War. Sir *Kenelm Digby* writes hopefully of Supplies of Money from *Rome*, but concludes nothing, the Irish troubling all our Solas, until the Peace be made with them. I fear all Catholick Help will be drawn that way. Upon this purpose I must tell you with what amazement the delays of the Peace in *Ireland* is considered here, and you leave us so ignorant of the condition of the Treaty, that we know not what to say of it. Pray by the return of this Bearer, or the first likely Passage, send me the state of it, their Demand, the King of *England* his Offers, and what you know of the Difficulties; If yet it be not concluded, it is not like that ever it will be, by those that manage it now: And therefore it seems to me for Satisfaction of those that so much press it, of the Irish, and to satisfy this State, who are much of that Opinion, and to secure our hopes at *Rome*, and lastly, to put that Business into a possibility of being concluded,

cluded, that the Proposition long since made to the King, of having the Treaty made here by the Queen and Queen Regent, were not unfitly refused. For I am confident the King by this means might have the Peace upon better Terms, and might limit the Queen by the same Instructions that those that now treat are bound by; and upon this, one of these Fruits would follow, That either—— should have the Peace, or the exorbitancy of their Demands would be so apparent to the Queen Regent, that we should have great advantage by that. The only Thing I fear is, That the King his Party in *Ireland* might possibly not acquiesce in such a Peace as would be fit for the King to make, and then he would have the scandal of it (for it will be a scandalous one, that is unavoidable) without the benefit of an assistance from *Ireland*. To conclude, if nothing be done in *Ireland*, I think it most necessary that the Offers of Treating be withdrawn from thence, and that the Queen may be trusted to Treat and Conclude with the Queen Regent here, with such as the Catholicks from *Ireland* shall appoint. This I write to you to consider of it; by the return of Sir *D. Wyat* you shall know more of this particular. This Bearer send back immediately, and write without flattering your self or us, the pure and natural state of Affairs. God of Heaven keep you, and give us, if he please, some other Punishment for our Faults, than that of our Countries falling into the Hands of the Rebels. I am most entirely yours.

I have given *Petit* thirty Pounds for his Journey.

The Accompt.

Borrow'd at *Rotterd.* of the Burgomasters, 400000
 More of the Bank in *Rotterdam*, 25000

In all from *Rotterdam*, 425000

Borrowed of the Bank at *Amsterdam* by } 84500
 Mr. *Sandys*,
 At the *Hague* of *Fletcher* c l f t c h e r, 126000
 More of him, 40000
 At the *Hague* of *Van. Cyren*, by Sir *W. Boswel*, 9000
 Of Monsieur *Despernon*, 230000
 Of *Webster* by three Obligations together } 100000
 on the Pendant Pearls,
 Of him more, 43200
 Of him more, and borrowed by him since, 70000
 Of Monsieur *Vicford*, 70000
 Of Sir *Charles Herbert*, 20000
 Of *Collimore* at *Antwerp*, 64000

In all—1281700 Guilders.

With *Webster* the six Rubies of the Chain } 20000
 left for about
 To *Webster*, 20000
 To the Prince *Orange*, 300000

Instructions to our trusty and well-beloved
 Servant, *Daniel O Neal*, Groom of our
 Bed-chamber, 27 June, 1645.

YOU are forthwith to repair unto our Ports of
 Dartmouth and Falmouth, where you are to
 confer with *Sir Nicholas Crisp Knight*, and with
Captain Hasdouck, or any other Owners of Ships or Fri-
 gots in our Service. You are to let them know, that
 whereas by a Clause in their several Commissions, they
 are oblig'd upon extraordinary Occasions of our Service
 to employ their Frigots for six weeks time, according
 to our special Command, we giving them just payment
 and satisfaction for the time of their Ships, during the
 time that they are so employ'd by us; we having now
 at this time such an occasion for them as doth highly
 import the good of our Affairs, we do require them to have
 in readines to expect our Orders, all such Ships or Fri-
 gots as can within a fortnight or three weeks time be set
 to Sea for a Month or six Weeks Service; and that for
 the present they do send immediately with you over into
 Ireland, unto such Ports as you shall direct, all such
 Frigots as are now fitted and ready there into Ireland,
 to expect and obey such Orders as they shall receive from
 the *Marquess of Ormond*, we assuring the Owners of the
 said Vessels, that they shall not only receive full satis-
 faction for the time that they shall be withdrawn from
 their own Employments by this our Command, but that
 we shall carry the same in mind as the most acceptable
 and important Service that they can possibly do us.
 And we do further Command you, That in case you shall
 find that more of the said Frigots than one cannot within
 very

very few days be ready, that you make use of the nimblest Vessel you can there find; and that whilst the others are preparing, you forthwith transport your self with all diligence unto the Marquess of Ormond, there to pursue such further Directions as we here give you, having first advertised us by Expresses what we may rely on, and when, concerning the Shipping aforesaid expected for our Service.

You are likewise to represent unto the Marquess of Ormond the great Importance to the good of our Affairs, that we be speedily supplied from our Kingdom of Ireland, with some good number of Foot; that we should be very glad you could frame such a Body there, to be sent over, as might be worthy his own coming to Command it; in which case when we hear from him, we shall give him our further Directions: But for the present, that no time must be lost in sending over what numbers can be spared of our old English Army there, as well as what may be procured of the Irish, together with the best Artillery, as well for Battery as the Field, that the said Marquess of Ormond can assist us withal.

You are to acquaint the said Marquess of Ormond with the diligence used here to procure Shipping for their Transportation, and what may be relied on of that kind from hence.

You are to employ your self in soliciting what Aids of all kinds may possibly be had from the Irish, according as you shall be instructed from the Marquess of Ormond: And what by his appointment you shall promise or ingage in our Name by way of Invitation or Encouragement to our Service unto any in that Kingdom, we shall be careful to make good: But in this and all things else of your Negotiation there, you are strictly and punctually to govern your self by such Directions as you shall receive from the said Marquess of Ormond,

mond, and no otherwise. Of all this, and what we may expect from thence, and when, you are to give the speediest and punctuallest Accompts you can unto our principal Secretary of State attending.

From the Lord Digby to the Lord Jermin.

SINCE the writing of my other of this same Date in my Brother Secretaries Cypher, I have received yours of the 28th of *July* in my new Cypher, which over-joys me: And it is as a Prediction of good Fortune to us, that the Queen bears our Disasters with that moderation. You do now find that clearly true which was my Opinion before, that our ill Successes would sooner warm that State to our Assistance than our good, it being their Interest to ballance Things here. For God's sake hasten Powder and Match in plenty to the Northern Coast, and what Muskets and Pistols you can, but Ammunition in the first place; let them be directed to *Burlington* or *Whitby*, for *Scarborough* is lost; but yet with some caution, as to enquire before they put in, least by any accident the Enemy should have Garisoned those Places before we come thither.

We are advertised from *London* that there are some Letters intercepted from the Queen to the King, with Blanks to be Signed by the King, Authorizing the Queen to engage *Ireland* to the Queen Regent for some Aids: If any such there be, it is very unlucky, not only for the ill use may be made of it here, but as it may be resented by my Lord of *Ormond*, who having committed

to

to him the management of the Affairs of *Ireland*, and having discharged that Trust so faithfully and prudently, may think himself injured in such Negotiations by the by. God keep you, and fail not to love him who is intirely

Yours.

Bridgenorth,
Aug. 9.

The Lord Jermin to the Lord George Digby.
St. Germain, Aug. 25.

WE have received nothing this Week from you, but find by other Advertisements the King is still in *Wales* recruiting his Army : I see no danger of perishing before the Winter comes in to our Relief, at least, if our own Party be not totally forsaken of their Hearts and Hands ; For if there remain among them either Understanding or Courage, they will perceive how ill a Bargain they must make with their Enemies at this time, if they fall into their Hands by any way whatsoever. I am now most confident if we hold out till next Spring, betwixt this and that we shall find powerful Succors. The design of ——— of which I have often written to you, may now in my Judgment be reckoned upon, for we have the Mony ready, the Persons of the same Mind, and all the Difficulties raised that be in the way, and the Business in as good advance as was possible ; since we got the Mony, there is a good reason to expect that within two Months (they are promised sooner) we shall have ———. This in it self may prove a great thing, but it is considered how it looks upon the
con-

condition of our Affairs, that are very unlike to receive new Life but by a Foreign Assistance, which reasonably is not to be hoped without securing their passage ; nothing sure can appear so necessary for us , therefore pray take great care that there be no delay in the dispatch of all Things belonging to it, when there shall be recourse to you in that behalf. I omit to tell you more Particulars of this Business , both in what Estate it is, and how it hath been retarded ; but Weekly now you shall be advertised. I hear there is some stop in the Treaty between *Denmark* and the *Swedes*, so that I fear will frustrate *Cockeram's* Negotiation, of which else I should hope very well. The Arms that went from hence to the Marquess of *Montrofs*, are arrived at *Hamborough*, and I hope are re-imbarked from thence ; *Cockeram* would have them go that way : We have no News yet of those sent to him from *Holland* ; what we are to expect from * hence as *France* towards a considerable Succour (I mean of a Body of Men) is to be attended until the end of their Campaign ; for I confess I am so far abused in the Business, as to believe it is equally hard to say we shall obtain no such thing, as to assure it now ; for without doubt there is no desire here to see the Monarchy of *England* devolve into another Government, and there is as little doubt that there are strong Inclinations for the Persons of the King and Queen, and desire to contribute to their re-establishment ; yet the humbling of the House of *Austria*, the beating them during the War , or making a glorious Peace, I confess are Passions that prevail more ; and it is no wonder : In the mean time we receive great Curtesies. The Queen is most civilly and kindly used in all ; her Pension duly paid ; 12000 Pistols they gave lately for the Arms for the Marquess *Montrofs*, and the Powder should be sent into

into the West; 10000 more they have now given for the Ships, which design is infinitely approved by them; and I doubt not but they will give the other 10000, that the setting them forth will come to; if they should fail, it will be otherwise provided. The Queen of *England* hath given us a sharp Alarm of another Distemper like her last, but the Fear is vanished almost after three Fits, but being young in apprehension of the third, she dares not write her self. I am entirely yours.

Pray send me Word whether the Barony passed to Mr. *Hemflet* be an English Barony, and to descend upon his Son by my Lady *Stanhope*; if not, you are to move the King for the Barony of *Wotton* for that Son: This is a Business in which the Queen was engaged in *Holland*, upon the important Services she received from *Hemflet*, and she will be very earnest with the King to have done. Pray send an Answer to this.

Let the Business of the Fleet be kept with all secrecy.

To the Honourable William Lenthal, Esq;
 Speaker of the Honourable House of C O M-
 M O N S.

S I R,

THESE inclosed Letters being brought to my Hands by Divine Providence, I held it my Duty to speed to you, because of the great Importance of them, and to acquaint you how I came by them.

Having some Dragoons at *'Padstow*, a Packet-boat from *Ireland* came into the Harbour; The Dragoons presently endeavoured to board her, and after some small Resistance, wherein the Captain and the Master of the Vessel were slain, they entered, seizing upon Captain *Allen*; the said *Allen* threw a Packet and divers loose Letters over-board, of which, only these inclosed were recovered: I shall send *Allen* with all convenient speed up to you, whose Examination you have also herewith inclosed: I find him to be a dangerous and subtle Man; I believe he hath much in his Breast which may be got out of him, by reason he is obnoxious as a Spy, and a Man I perceive loves his Life so well, that good use may be made thereof, to discover by further Examination what we have not an opportunity to do here, but yet may be worthy of your Knowledge: For it appears by some of the Letters, that he hath much intrusted by the Earl of *Glamorgan* to him, to give a verbal Account of: I have given Captain *Moulton*, who is upon the Irish Seas, Advertisement of the Enemies

ries Intentions. To say no more, you will perceive by the Date of the Earl of *Glamorgan's* Letters, That he hath the Honour, Trust and Liberty of a very good and loyal Subject. I suppose you will see by these Letters, what reason there is to hasten Recruits with effect, which I must withal represent to be the more needful, in regard of the Diminution which cannot but attend these Marches; and that Hardship the Army hath been put to in such a Country and at such a Season. I must acknowledge your Provisions for this Army to be very great, and the Committee of the Armies care, in observing your Appointments therein to be answerable. I desire I may faithfully improve your Favours, as becomes an honest Man, to the Glory of God, and your Service: And rest

Your most humble Servant,

T. Fairfax.

Bodmyn, March 7,
1645.

*To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire,
Speaker of the Honourable House of Commons.*

S I R,

IN my last, which was but yesterday by the Post, I gave you an Account of the Agreement made for the delivery up of *Mount-Edgccomb*, and the disbanding of the Regiments raised in those Parts, and of the coming of Mr. *Coriton* and divers other Gentlemen of Quality, which is every day more apparent than other, by their hourly sending to the General to be received into the Protection of the Parliament, which is now in some measure made known to the Country, who had this day a meeting upon *Bodman-Downs*: It was but yesterday they had notice, and one Hundred of the four had not the Notice come to them, yet about eight hundred or nine hundred appeared; And now for the occasion the meeting was desired, which was for this purpose, to let them know the Army was come to protect them, not to ruin them; That the Soldiers Horse and Foot had charge to defray their Quarters; That if any Soldier offered violence unto them, upon Complaint it should be redressed; That the Gentlemen of the Country, naming such and such Persons, were come in to the Parliament, which did very much encourage the Commonalty to be the more forward to hearken to what might be for the Service of the Publick, and Defence of their own County: And that which wrought the Impression deepest upon their Hearts, was Mr. *P.* his publishing to them the Packets taken in the *Irish Vessel*, which I mentioned unto you in the last Letter, which he not only shewed unto them,

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but read the same, and permitted such of them as desired it to read them, and told them they should have Copies of *Glamorgan's* Articles, and his other Letters, if they desired them, which abundantly gave them Satisfaction; and that which put it out of doubt was, That the Ship and Packets were seized on, and taken by the assistance of the Inhabitants at *Padstow* within their own County but the day before: And indeed it was a very seasonable and remarkable Accident as could have happened for the Uniting of this County to the Parliament, for the very Thoughts of *Irish* and *French* are hateful unto them: Those Letters that were most considerable miscarried in the Water; which was the Earl of *Glamorgan's* to the Prince, Sir *Edward Hyde*, and to another, which Capt. *Allen*, an *Irish* Papist and Merchant of *Waterford* confesseth he had from the Hands of the Earl of *Glamorgan* to deliver as aforesaid: Upon his Examination he said further, That the three hundred *Irish* desired for the Prince's Life-guard were to be thus disposed, an hundred to be put into the Mount, an hundred to *Pendennis*, and the other hundred to be a Guard to the Prince. The General hath sent Post to Capt. *Moulton* Admiral of the *Irish* Coasts, to give him notice in what forwardness the *Irish* were to be transported, that they may keep out Ships at Sea for prevention: The Trumpet that went with the Summons to the Lord *Hopton* is not yet returned. To morrow early the whole Army Horse and Foot advances towards *Truro*: All Passes, By-lanes and Fords being for the most part barricadoed or blockt up; so that if the Enemy should slip by (which we no ways fear) their Marches will be so slow, that their Rear will be ingaged before they get half through the Passage. Before this come to your Hands, without peradventure the Business will be
very

very near decided by a Treaty or retreat into the Sea: There came seven or eight of the Prince's Servants this day for Passes to go home, much lamenting the sudden carrying the Prince on Ship-board when they dreamed not of it: At Foy we took thirteen pieces of Ordnance mounted, besides Arms and Powder; the first Night the Town stood upon their Guard, but the next Morning repented of their Folly, and without dispute admitted our Forces to come in. Be pleased to hasten down Monies to the Army, and Match and Powder with all speed to *Lime*: Neither of these will admit of delay: And hasten Recruits that they may meet us when we face about.

Bodman, March 6.
11 at night.

*Your most humble and
faithful Servant,*

John Rushworth.

The Examination of Allen is sent up by this Bearer, who can inform you more of the Carriage of the Man: I hope the Bearer will come safe with the Letters; he is enjoined to have great care; he comes far with such a Trust.

*The Treaty concluded with the Irish Rebels by the
Earl of Glamorgan.*

W Hereas much time hath been spent in Meetings and Debates betwixt his Excellency *James* Lord Marquess of *Ormond*, Lord Lieutenant and General Governor of his Majesty's Kingdom of *Ireland*, Commissioner to his most excellent Majesty, *Charles*, by the Grace of God, King of *Great Britain, France and Ireland*, &c. for the Treating and Concluding of a Peace in the said Kingdom with his Majesty's humble and loyal Subjects, the Confederate and *Roman* Catholicks of the said Kingdom of *Ireland* of the one part; and the Right Honourable *Donogh* Lord Viscount *Muskerry*, and other Commissioners Deputed and Authorized by the said Confederate *Roman* Catholick Subjects of the other part; and thereupon many Difficulties did arise, by occasion whereof sundry Matters of great Weight and Consequence necessarily requisite to be condescended unto by his Majesty's said Commissioners, for the safety of the said Confederate *Roman* Catholicks, were not hitherto agreed upon, which retarded, and doth as yet retard the Conclusion of a firm Peace and Settlement in the said Kingdom. And whereas the Right Honourable *Edward* Earl of *Glamorgan* is intrusted and Authorized by his most Excellent Majesty, to grant and assure to the said Confederate Catholick Subjects further Grace and Favours, which the said Lord Lieutenant did not as yet in that Latitude as they expected grant unto them; and the said Earl having seriously considered of all Matters and due Circumstances of the great Affairs now in agitation,
which

which is the Peace and Quiet of the said Kingdom, and the Importance thereof, in order to his Majesty's Service, and in relation to a Peace and Settlement in his other Kingdoms; and here upon the Place having seen the ardent desire of the said Catholicks to assist his Majesty against all that do or shall oppress his Royal Right or Monarchick Government; and having discerned the Alacrity and Chearfulness of the said Catholicks to embrace Honourable Conditions of Peace, which may preserve their Religion and other just Interests. In pursuance therefore of his Majesty's Authority under his Highness's Signature Royal and Signet, bearing Date at *Oxon.* the 12th day of *March* in the Twentieth Year of his Reign, granted unto the said Earl of *Glamorgan*, the Tenor whereof is as followeth, *viz.* *Charles Rex.* *Charles*, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. To our Trusty and right Well-beloved Cousin *Edward* Earl of *Glamorgan*, greeting: We reposing great and especial Trust and Confidence in your approved Wisdom and Fidelity, Do by these (as firmly as under our Great Seal to all Intents and Purposes) Authorize and give you Power to Treat and conclude with the Confederate *Roman* Catholicks in our Kingdom of *Ireland*, if upon necessity any thing be to be condescended unto, wherein our Lieutenant cannot so well be seen in, as not fit for us at the present publickly to own; Therefore we charge you to proceed according to this our Warrant with all possible Secrecy, and for whatsoever you shall engage your self upon such valuable Considerations, as you in your Judgment shall deem fit; We promise in the Word of a King and a Christian, to ratifie and perform the same that shall be granted by you and under your Hand and

Seal; the said Confederate Catholicks having by their Supplies testified their Zeal to our Service; and this shall be in each particular to you a sufficient Warrant. Given at our Court at *Oxford* under our Signet and Royal Signature the 12th day of *March*, in the Twentieth Year of our Reign, 1644. To our right Trusty and right Well-beloved Cousin *Edward* Earl of *Glamorgan*. It is therefore granted, accorded and agreed, by and between the said Earl of *Glamorgan*, for and on the behalf of his most excellent Majesty, his Heirs and Successors on the one part; and the Right Honourable *Richard* Lord Viscount *Mountgarret*, Lord President of the Supream Council of the said Confederate Catholicks, the said *Donogh* Lord Viscount *Muskerry*, *Alexander Mac Donnel*, and *Nicholas Plunket*, Esq; Sir *Talbot Barronet*, *Dermot O Brien*, *John Dillon*, *Patrick Darcy*, and *Geffery Brown*, Esq; Commissioners in that Behalf appointed by the said Confederate *Roman* Catholick Subjects of *Ireland*, for and in the Behalf of the said Confederate *Roman* Catholick Subjects of the other part, in manner and form following; (that is to say)

1. *Imprimis*,

1. **I**T is granted, accorded and agreed by the the said Earl, for and in the Behalf of his most Excellent Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, That all and every the Professors of the *Roman* Catholick Religion in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, of whatever Estate, Degree or Quality soever he or they be or shall be, shall for evermore hereafter have and enjoy within the said Kingdom, the free and publick Use and Exercise of the said *Roman* Catholick Religion, and of the respective Functions therein.

2. *Item*, It is granted, accorded and agreed by the said Earl, for and on the Behalf of his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, That the said Professors of the *Roman* Catholick Religion, shall hold and enjoy all and every the Churches by them enjoyed within this Kingdom, or by them possessed at any time since the 23d of *October* 1641. and all other Churches in the said Kingdom, other than such as are now actually enjoyed by his Majesty's Protestant Subjects.

3. *Item*, It is granted, accorded and agreed by the said Earl, for and in the Behalf of his most Excellent Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, That all and every the *Roman* Catholick Subjects of *Ireland*, of what Estate, Condition, Degree or Quality soever, shall be free and exempted from the Jurisdiction of the Protestant Clergy, and every of them; and that the *Roman* Catholick Clergy of this Kingdom shall not be punished, troubled or molested for the exercise of their Jurisdiction over their respective Catholick Flocks, in Matters Spiritual and Ecclesiastical.

4. *Item*, It is further granted, accorded and agreed by the said Earl, for and on the Behalf of his most excellent Majesty, his Heirs and Successors,

jors, That an Act shall be passed in the next Parliament to be holden in this Kingdom, the Tenor and Purport whereof shall be as followeth, *viz.* An Act for the Relief of his Majesty's Catholick Subjects of his Highness's Kingdom of *Ireland*: Whereas by an Act made in Parliament held in *Dublin* the second year of the Reign of the late Queen *Eliz.* Intituled, *An Act restoring to the Crown the ancient Jurisdiction over the State Ecclesiastical and Spiritual, and abolishing all Foreign Power repugnant to the same*; And by one other Statute made in the said last mentioned Parliament, Intituled, *An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and Service in the Church, and the Administration of the Sacrament*, sundry Mulcts, Penalties, Restraints and Incapacities, are and have been laid upon the Professors of the *Roman* Catholick Religion in this Kingdom, in, for and concerning the Use, Profession and Exercise of their Religion and their Functions therein, to the great Prejudice, Trouble and Disquiet of the *Roman* Catholicks in their Liberties and Estates, and the general disturbance of the whole KINGDOM. For Remedy whereof, and for the better settling, increase and continuance of the Peace, Unity and Tranquility of this Kingdom of *Ireland*; his Majesty, at the humble Suit and Request of the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, is graciously pleased that it may be Enacted, And be it Enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by Authority of the same, That from and after the first day of this Session of Parliament, it shall and may be lawful to and for all the Professors of the *Roman* Catholick Religion, of what Degree, Condition or Quality soever, to have, use and enjoy the free and publick Exercise

cise and Profession of the said *Roman* Catholick Religion, and of their severall and respective Functions therein, without incurring any Mulct or Penalty whatsoever, or being subject to any restraint or incapacity concerning the same; Any Article or Clause, Sentence or Provision in the said last mentioned Acts of Parliament, or in any other Act or Acts of Parliament, Ordinances, Law or Usage to the contrary, or in any wise notwithstanding. And be it also further Enacted, That neither the said Statutes, or any other Statute, Acts or Ordinance hereafter made in your Majesty's Reign, or in the Reign of any of your Highnesses most Noble Progenitors or Ancestors, and now of force in this Kingdom; nor all, nor any Branch, Article, Clause and Sentence in them or any of them, contained or specified, shall be of force or validity in this Realm, to extend to be construed, or adjudged to extend in any wise to inquiet, prejudice, vex or molest the Professors of the said *Roman* Catholick Religion, in their Persons, Lands, Hereditaments or Goods, for any Thing, Matter or Cause whatsoever, touching and concerning the free and publick use, exercise and enjoyings of their said Religion, Function and Profession. And be it also further Enacted and Declared by the Authority aforesaid, That your Majesty's *Roman* Catholick Subjects in the said Realm of *Ireland*, from the first day of this Session of Parliament, shall be, and be taken, deemed and adjudged capable of all Offices of Trust and Advancement, Places, Degrees and Dignities, and Preferment whatsoever within your said Realm of *Ireland*, any Acts, Statutes, Usage or Law to the contrary notwithstanding. And that other Acts shall be passed in the said Parliament, according to the Tenor of such Agreement or Concessions as herein are expressed;
and

and that in the mean time the said *Roman* Catholick Subjects, and every of them, shall enjoy the full Benefit, Freedom and Advantage of the said Agreements and Concessions, and of every of them.

5. *Item*, It is accorded, granted and agreed by the said Earl, for and in the Behalf of his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, That his Excellency the Lord Marquess of *Ormond*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, or any other or others authorized or to be authorized by his Majesty, shall not disturb the Professors of the *Roman* Catholick Religion in their present possession and continuance of the Profession of their said Churches Jurisdiction, or any other the Matters aforesaid in these Articles agreed and condescended unto by the said Earl, until his Majesty's Pleasure be signified for confirming and publishing the Grants and Agreements hereby articulated for, and condescended unto by the said Earl.

6. *Item*, And the said Earl of *Glamorgan* doth hereby engage his Majesty's Royal Word and publick Faith unto all and singular the Professors of the said *Roman* Catholick Religion within the said Kingdom of *Ireland*, for the due observance and performance of all and every the Articles, Grants and Clauses therein contained, and the Concessions herein mentioned to be performed to them.

7. *Item*, It is accorded and agreed, That the said Publick Faith of the Kingdom shall be engaged unto the said Earl, by the said Commissioners of the said Confederate Catholicks, for sending Ten thousand Men to serve his Majesty, by Order and Publick Declaration of the General Assembly now sitting; And that the Supreme Council of the said Confederate Catholicks shall engage themselves to bring the said number of Men Armed, the one half with Muskets, and the other half with Pikes,
unto

unto any Port within this Realm, at the Election of the said Earl, and at such time as he shall appoint, to be by him shipped and transported to serve his Majesty in *England, Wales or Scotland*, under the Command of the said Earl of *Glamorgan* as Lord General of the said Army, which Army is to be kept together in one intire Body; and all other the Officers and Commanders of the said Army are to be named by the Supreme Council of the said Confederate Catholicks, or by such others as the General Assembly of the said Confederate Catholicks of this Kingdoms shall intrust therewith: In witness whereof, the Parties to these Presents have hereunto interchangeably put their Hands and Seals the 25th day of *August*, 1645.

GLAMORGAN.

Signed, Sealed and Delivered in the Presence
of *John Somerset, Jeffery Barron, Robert Barry.*

Copia vera Collata fideliter cum Originali: Thomas
Cashel, Franc. Patricius, Waterford & Lismore.

This is a true Copy of the Original found in the
Archbishop of *Tuam's* Carriage; compared by
us, *Arthur Annesley, Rob. King.*

Articles

Articles of Agreement made and concluded upon by and between the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Glamorgan, in pursuance, and by vertue of his Majesty's Authority under his Signet and Royal Signature, bearing Date at Oxford the twelfth day of March in the twentieth year of his Reign, for and on the Behalf of his most Excellent Majesty of the one part; and the Right Honourable Richard Lord Viscount Mountgarret, Lord President of the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholics of Ireland, Donnogh Lord Viscount Muskerry, Alex. Mac Donnel and Nicholas Plunket, Esquires, Sir Robert Talbot Baronet, Dermot O'Brien, John Dillon, Patrick Darcy and Jeffery Brown, Esquires, for and on the Behalf of his Majesty's Roman Catholick Subjects, and the Catholick Clergy of Ireland, of the other part.

I*mprimis*, The said Earl doth grant, conclude and agree, on the Behalf of his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, to and with the said Richard Lord Viscount Mountgarret, Donnogh Lord Viscount Muskerry, Alex. Mac Donnel, and Nicholas Plunket, Esquires; Sir Robert Talbot Baronet, Dermot O'Brien, John Dillon, Patrick Darcy, and Jeffery Brown, Esquires: That the Roman Catholick Clergy of the said Kingdom shall and may from henceforth for ever, hold and enjoy all and every such Lands, Tenements, Tithes, and Hereditaments whatsoever by them respectively enjoyed within this Kingdom,
or

or by them possessed at any time since the Three and twentieth of *October*, One thousand six hundred forty one : And all other such Lands, Tenements, Tithes, and Hereditaments belonging to the Clergy within this Kingdom, other than such as are actually enjoyed by his Majesty's Protestant Clergy.

Item, It is granted, concluded and agreed on by the said *Richard* Lord Viscount *Mountgarret*, *Donogh* Lord Viscount *Muskerry*, *Alex. Mac Donnel*, and *Nicholas Plunket*, Sir *Robert Talbot*, *Dermot O'Brien*, *John Dillon*, *Patrick Darcy*, and *Jeffery Brown*; on the Behalf of the Confederate Roman Catholicks of *Ireland*, that two parts in three parts to be divided of all the said Lands, Tythes, and Hereditaments whatsoever, mentioned in the precedent Article, shall for three years next ensuing the Feast of *Easter*, which shall be in the year of our Lord God 1646. be disposed of and converted for and to the use of his Majesty's Forces, employed or to be employed in his Service, and the other third part to the use of the said Clergy respectively, and so the like disposition to be renewed from three years to three years, by the said Clergy during the Wars.

Item, It is accorded and agreed by the said Earl of *Glamorgan*, for and in the Behalf of his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, that his Excellency the Lord Marquess of *Ormond*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, or any other or others authorized or to be authorized by his Majesty, shall not disturb the Professors of the *Roman* Catholick Religion in their present possession and continuance of the possession of their Churches, Lands, Tenements, Tythes, Hereditaments, Jurisdiction, or any other the Matters aforesaid in these Articles agreed and condescended to by the said Earl, until his Majesty's Pleasure be signified for confirming and publishing the Grants
herein

herein articted for and condescended unto by the said Earl.

Item, It is accorded, granted and agreed by the said Earl for and in the Behalf of his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, that an Act shall be passed in the next Parliament to be held in this Kingdom, according to the Tenor of such Agreements or Concessions as herein are expressed, and that in the mean time the said Clergy shall enjoy the full Benefit, Freedom and Advantage of the said Agreements and Concessions and every of them.

And the said Earl of *Glamorgan* doth hereby engage his Majesty's Royal Word and Publick Faith unto the said Lord Viscount *Mountgarret*, and the rest of the said Commissioners, for the due observation and performance of all and every the Articles, Agreements and Concessions herein contained and mentioned, to be performed to the said *Roman* Catholick Clergy and every of them. In witness whereof, the Parties to these Presents have hereunto interchangeably put their Hands and Seals the 25th day of *August*, *Anno Dom.* 1645.

GLAMORGAN.

Signed, Sealed and Delivered in the presence of
John Sommerfet, Jeffery Barron, Rob. Barry.

Whereas

Whereas in these Articles touching the Clergy Livings, the Right Honourable the Earl of *Glamorgan* is obliged in his Majesty's Behalf to secure the Concessions in these Articles by Act of Parliament: We holding that manner of securing those Grants as to the Clergy Livings to prove more difficult and prejudicial to his Majesty, than by doing thereof, and securing those Concessions otherwise as to the said Livings, the said Earl undertaking and promising in the Behalf of his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, as hereby he doth undertake to settle the said Concessions, and secure them to the Clergy, and their respective Successors, in another secure way, other than by Parliament at present, till a fit opportunity be offered for securing the same, do agree and condescend thereunto. And this Instrument by his Lordship signed, was before the perfecting thereof intended to that purpose, as to the said Livings, to which purpose We have mutually signed this Endorsement. And it is further intended, that the Catholick Clergy shall not be interrupted by Parliament, or otherwise, as to the said Livings, contrary to the meaning of these Articles.

GLAMORGAN.

Copia vera collata fideliter cum Originali, Thomas Cashel, Fra. Patricius, Waterford & Lismore.

This is a true Copy of the Original found in the Archbishop of *Tuam*'s Carriage, compared by us,
Arthur Annesly, Rob. King.

I Edward

I Edward Earl of Glamorgan do protest and swear faithfully to acquaint the King's most Excellent Majesty with the Proceedings of this Kingdom, in order to his Service, and to the Indearment of this Nation, and punctual performance of what I have (as authorized by his Majesty) obliged my self to see performed, and in default, not to permit the Army intrusted into my Charge to adventure it self, or any considerable part thereof, until Conditions from his Majesty, and by his Majesty be performed,

Sept. 3. 1645.

GLAMORGAN.

Copia vera concordans de verbo ad verbum fideliter cum Origen. Tho. Cashel.

This is a true Copy of the Original found in the Archbishop of Tuam's Carriage, compared by us, Arthur Annesley, Rob. King.

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- Bradshaw* chosen a Member of Parliament, 498. summoned to *O Cromwell's* Council, 568. required to take out a new Commission for his Office of Judge, 568. he refuses to do it, *ibid.* goes his Circuit, 577. returned for a Member of *Rich. Cromwell's* Parliament, 618. chosen one of the Council of State, 656. one of the Commissioners of the Broad Seal, 667, 668. he inveighs against Col. *Sydenham's* Speech, 726. withdraws himself from publick Employment, 727.
- Bristol*. Castle governed by Col. *Adrian Scroop*, 504. slighted by *Cromwell's* Order, *ibid.*
- Broughill* (Lord) made President of the Council in *Scotland*, 504. a yearly Revenue of 2000 *l.* settled upon him, *ibid.* desirous to return to *Ireland*, 562. his Request denied, 563. he persuades the House to debate the new Form of Government, 584. chosen one of *Rich. Cromwell's* Cabinet-Council, 632. sent into *Munster*, 643.
- Brown* (Col.) a Member of the new Council of State, 850.
- Bullion*, Three Millions of it taken from the *Spaniards*, 560. brought to the Tower of *London*, *ibid.*

C.

- C** *Arew* (*John*) summoned to *O. Cromwell's* Council, 489. sent Prisoner to *Pendennis*, *ib.* removed to his own House. 563.
- Cavaliers* Imprisoned, 515. their Arms seized, *ib.* a Party of them appear at *Salisbury*, *ib.* they proclaim King *Charles II.* 516. seize on the Judges, *ib.* take away their Commissions, *ib.* march to *Blandford*, *ib.* pursued into *Devonshire*, *ib.* defeated by

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- Maj. *Crook*, *ib.* a tenth Part of their Estates seized, 519. their Conspiracy against the Army, 769 & 770. excite the Apprentices to Petition for a free Parliament, 771 & 840. cause the Names of the King's Judges to be Printed, 871.
- Chaloner* (*Tho.*) chosen one of the Council of State, 656.
- Charles II. obtains Succours for Scotland, 505. sends Commissioners for the raising of Forces, 513. leaves the *Spanish Territories*, 878 goes to *Breda*, *ib.* sends Letters to the Parliament, *ib.* voted King of England, &c *ib.* *Chester* seized by Sir Geo. Booth, 684. surrendered to Col. Lambert, 694.
- Christina* Queen of Sweden receives the Lord *Whitlock* Ambassador from England, 488. signs the Articles agreed upon by both Nations, *ibid.*
- Clark (Col.) refuses to be one of the Commissioners for the Admiralty, 653, 654.
- Cleypool (Mr.) O. Cromwell's Son in Law, stands up in the House, 581. declares against the Major Generals, *ib.* his Wife interceeds for Dr. Hewet, 607. the cause of her Death, *ibid.*
- Coke (John) Chief Justice of Ireland seized, 851.
- Celbert (Col.) seized in Scotland, 728. sent Prisoner into one of the Islands, *ibid.* committed to the Tower, 877.
- Coleman-street Conventicle dispersed, 605. some of them seized, *ibid.*
- Commissioners of the Great Seal; attend O. Cromwell, 611. press him to sign the Declaration of his Successor, *ibid.* admitted too late, *ibid.*
- Committee of Safety, appointed by the Parliament, 651. their Authority, *ibid.* Persons constituted to be of it, *ibid.* & 652. the time limited for their Duration, 652. matters referred to them; *ibid.*
- Committee of Safety, established by the Army, 714 & 727. the Names of the Members, 715. they nominate certain Persons to consider of a Form of Government, 736. their Report to the Army, touching a new Parliament, 766.
- Conservators of Liberty, who? 767. Matters to be referred to their Judgment, *ibid.*
- Convention summoned by O. Cromwell and his Council of Officers, 463. they vote themselves to be the Parliament of the Commonwealth, &c. *ibid.* pass several Acts, 463 & 464. issue forth Orders for regulating the Excise, 470. nominate Commanders for the Fleet, *ibid.* their Act against those who should proclaim any King, 471. their Answer to the Invectives against them, 473 & 474. some of them sign a Writing for the Resignation of their Power, 475. the rest removed and dissolved, *ibid.* & 476.

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Gony (*Geo*) a Merchant refuses to pay Custom, 527, 528. violently taken from him, 528. he sues the Collector, 528. his Council sent to the Tower, *ibid.* forced to Plead for himself, *ibid.* the Tryal deferred, 529. the Business accommodated, *ibid.*

Coote (*Sir Charles*) goes Post for *Ireland*, 642. acquaints Col. *Henr. Cromwell* with the Revolution in *England*, *ibid.* sent into *Connought*, *ibid.* he acts according to Gen. *Monk's* Orders, 813, &c. declares for a free Parliament, 838. gets possession of *Dublin-Castle*, 839. seizes on Chief Justice *Coke*, 851.

Corbet (*Miles*) accused of High Treason, 806. goes to the Parliament, 818. summoned to the new Council of State, 867. compelled to sign an Engagement, 870.

Council chosen by *O. Cromwell*, 479. their resolutions after his Death, 613. & *sequ.* they order the Civil Officers to act by their old Commissions, *ibid.* take care of his Funeral, 614. their Debates about calling a Parliament, 615, 616 & 617.

Council of Officers, called by *Rich. Cromwell*, 636. their Meetings and Debates, *ibid.* & *sequ.* they endeavour to bring over the Protector to their Party, 639. admit Maj. Gen. *Lambert* into their Society 642. resolve upon the Restauration of the Long Parliament, 648. summoned to Col. *Desborough's*, 662. their Debates, *ibid.* meet at *Wallingford-House*, 720. their Address to the Parliament, 721. assembled at *Whitehall*, 748. their Answer to a Paper presented by the Aldermen of *London*, 773.

Council of State send Orders to Gen. *Monk* to hasten his March, 819. to advance into the City, 824. to break their Gates and Portcullices, *ibid.* to pull up the Posts and Chains, *ibid.* require him to prevent the admission of the secluded Members, 845. they are forbidden to sit any longer, 850. a new Council appointed, *ibid.* a List of the Members, *ibid.* they send out Warrants for seizing divers Officers, 857. Order Copies of the Covenant to be fairly drawn, 858. and to be hung up in every Parish-Church, *ibid.*

Courts of Justice erected at *Dublin*, 443. make Inquisition after Murders, *ibid.*

Creed (*Maj.*) taken Prisoner, 877. Committed to the Tower, *ib.*

Grew (*Mr.*) chosen one of the new Council of State, 850. moves the Parliament to bear Witness against the horrid Murder of the King, 863.

Cromwell (*Col Henry*) sent into *Ireland*, 490. the design of his Journey, *ibid.* conducted to *Dublin*, *ibid.* Entertained by General *Ludlow*, *ibid.* his Conference with him, *ibid.* 491 & 492. he returns to *Chester*, 492. attended by many of the late

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King's Party, *ib* sent again into *Ireland*, 534. accompanied with his Wife and Family, *ib*. carested on the Road by the Cavalier Party, *ib*. arrives in *Dublin-Bay*, *ib*. calls a Council of Officers, 643. proposes to them to assist *R. Cromwell*, *ib*. they decline it, *ib*. required to come over into *England*, 666. and to give an account of Affairs in *Ireland*, *ib*. he retires to the *Phoenix House*, 677. departs for *London*, 687.

Cromwell (Rich.) proclaimed Protector, 613 his imprudent and irreligious Expressions, 663. startled at the Proceedings of the Council of Officers, 638. voted general of the Army, *ib*. disperses the Officers, 639. sends for Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, *ib*. he appointed a Rendezvous at *Whitehal*, 640. most part of the Officers repair to St. *James's*, *ib*. he's left destitute of an Army, *ib*. perswaded to dissolve his Parliament, 641. ordered to remove from *Whitehal*, 656 & 664. required to give a positive Answer about that Matter, 664. he submits to the Parliament, 665. receives a Gratuity of 2000 l. *ib*.

Cromwell (Oliver) his Designs suspected by many, 447. forms the Army to his humor, *ib*. gets an Act of Oblivion passed, *ib*. asperges the Parliament, 449. his crafty and hypocritical Practices, 449, 450 & *sequ*. his Demeanour in the Parliament-House, 455 & *sequ*. his Speech there, 456. he turns out all the Members, 458. seizes on the Records, *ib*. commands the Doors to be locked up, *ib*. goes to *Whitehal*, *ib*. disperses the Council of State, 461. appoints a Meeting of the Army-Officers, 462. his Harangue to his new Convention, 463. takes upon him the Office as it were of a High-Constable, 471. and the Title of Protector, 479. the first Persons nominated to be of his Council, *ib*. he allots 1000 l. a Year to each of them, *ib*. establishes a Commission for viewing all the Forests and Royal Demesns, *ib*. the Ceremonies at his Inauguration, 480 & 481. takes a certain Oath, 480. proclaimed Protector of the Common-wealth of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, 481. proclaimed likewise in *Ireland*, 483. makes Peace with the Dutch, 487. the Articles of that Peace, *ib*. his Cash in the Treasuries of *England* and *Ireland*, 488. Removes from the Cock-pit to *Whitehal*, *ib*. his Expences at his Mother's Funeral, 489. he directs the Judges to favour the Cavalier-party, *ib*. restores Colonel *Grace* to his Estate, *ib*. summons Major General *Harrison* and others to the Council, *ib*. takes away their Commissions, *ib*. sends his Son *Henry* into *Ireland*, 490. invited by the City to Dinner, 492. his Cavalcade there, 493. harangued by the Recorder, *ib*. confers Knight-hood upon *Thomas Viner* Mayor, *ib*. resolves upon a Foreign Expedition,

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dition, *ib.* his demands of the Spanish Ambassadors, 494. the Ambassadors Reply, *ib.* he issues out Warrants for the Election of a Parliament, 497. sends Letters to *Scotland* and *Ireland* for that purpose, *ib.* his Speech in the Painted Chamber, 499. he causes several Members to be excluded, *ib.* and a Guard to be set upon the Door of the House, 500. requires their Attendance in the Painted Chamber, *ib.* his Declaration to them, *ib.* & 501. declared Protector during his Life, 502. Constitutes Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* Deputy of *Ireland*, 503. entrusts General *Monk* with the Command of the Scotch Forces, 504. takes upon him to drive a Coach in the Park, 508. thrown out of the Box, *ib.* his Pistol fired in his Pocket with the Fall, *ib.* his Charge against the Parliament, 510 & 511. he dissolves them, 512. seizes on a Tenth Part of the Cavaliers Estates, 519. divides *England* into Cantons for that purpose, *ib.* places a Major General in each of them, *ib.* transports whole droves of those that oppos'd his Interest, 533. enters into an Alliance with the French, 558. they are obliged to Banish the Sons of the late King, *ib.* & 559. sends Forces to the Siege of *Dunkirk*, 560, 561. causes divers Places in *Scotland* to be fortified, 562. attempts the Succession of his Family to the Crown, 567. and to make himself King, *ib.* calls a Parliament for that purpose, *ib.* scruples to take upon him that Title, 580. the Reasons offered to him for accepting of it, *ib.* he rejects them, 586. his Conference with Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* and Colonel *Desborough*, *ib.* & 587. requires the attendance of the House in the Painted Chamber, *ib.* puts off their Meeting, 588. appoints them to meet at *Whitehal*, 591. peremptorily refuses the Title of King, *ib.* accepts of that of Protector, 592. the solemnity at his Investiture, *ib.* forms a new House of Lords, 595. dissolves both Houses, 599. discovers a Plot carried on by the Royalists, 605. refers their Tryal to the High Court of Justice, *ib.* grows melancholy, 609. distempered with divers Infirmities, *ib.* falls desperately sick, *ib.* importuned to nominate his Successor, 611. his demeanour at the point of death, 612. the purport of his last Words, *ib.* the time of his death, *ib.* the different Effects of it, *ib.* & *sequ.* his Body laid in *Somerset House*, 614. the Magnificence of that State, *ib.* represented in *Effigie*, *ib.* & 615. dirt thrown on his Escutcheon, 615.

Crook (Major *Union*) defeats a Party of Cavaliers, 516. ordered to have 200 l. a Year for his good Service, 518.

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D.

- D** *Arbysire*, an Insurrection in those Parts dispersed, 686.
Day (Cornet) charged with calling *Cromwell* Rogue and Traytor, 605. confesses the Words, *ib.* offers to produce Witnesses against the Protector, *ib.* fined and imprisoned, *ib.*
Dean (Admiral) killed in a Sea fight with the Dutch, 467.
Dendy (Serjeant) takes Lieutenant General *Ludlow* into Custody, 574.
Denmark (King of) promises to assist the Dutch, 438.
Desborough (Major General) constituted one of the chief Commanders of the Fleet, 470. and one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, 479. his Conference with Colonel *Pride*, 587 & 588. delivers a Petition from the Officers to the House, 589. joined in Commission with Admiral *Blake*, 603. he persuades *Richard Cromwell* to dissolve his Parliament, 641. made one of both the Committees of Safety, 652 & 715. and a Member of the Council of State, 656.
Doily (Colonel) Commander of the Forces in *Jamaica*, 533. gets a Subsistence by Planting, *ib.*
Downs (Colonel) a Member of the Council of State, 656.
Drummond (Major General) his Conduct at the Siege of *Dunkirk*, 561.
Duckenfield (Lieutenant Colonel) receives a Gratuity of 2000 l. 700. stops the Speaker in his Coach, 725, 726.
Dundee fortified, 562.
Dunkirk besieged, 560. surrendred to the French, 562. afterwards delivered up to the English, *ib.* Colonel *Lockhart* entrusted with the Government of it, 671. ordered to be fortified, *ib.*
Dutch Ambassadors sue for Peace, 470.

E.

- E** Ncounter between the Army and the Parliament's Guards, 723, 724, 725 & 726.
 Engagements between the English and Dutch Fleets, 438, 466.

F.

- F** *Airfax* (Thomas Lord) chosen one of the Council of State, 656.
 Fifth Monarchy-Men; plot to dethrone *Oliver Cromwell*, 604. the principal of them seized, *ib.* their Standard taken, *ib.* sent Prisoners to the Gatehouse, *ib.*
Fitz (Colonel) Lieutenant of the *Tower*, seized by Colonel *Desborough*, 763.
Fitz-Patrick (Colonel) his Mother accused of committing Murder, 436. found Guilty and condemned to be burnt, 443. executed accordingly, *ib.*

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Fleetwood (Lieutenant General) arrives at *Dublin*, 440. causes *Oliver Cromwell* to be proclaimed Protector in *Ireland*, 482 & 483. holds a private Junta for the choice of Parliament-Men, 498. made Deputy of *Ireland*, 503. departs thence for *England*, 539. retires to *St. James's*, 639. chosen one of the Committee of Safety, 651. and one of the Council of State, 656. made Commander in Chief, 660. receives three Commissions from the Speaker, 664. made Ranger of *St. James's Park*, 673. nominated one of the Army-Committee of Safety, 715. his Consults at *Wallingford-House*, 716 & sequ. he sends the Keys of the House to the Speaker. 807.

Forces; those about Town mustered in *Lincolns-Inn-Fields*, 807. declare for the Parliament, *ib.* march by the Speaker's House, *ib.* salute him as their General, *ib.*

Form of Government; a new one presented to the House, 583. by whom opposed, *ib.* & 584. debated and confirmed, 584.

Fortescue (Colonel) made Governour of *Jamaica*, 532. his death, 533.

Fotherby (Colonel) refuses to act for the Parliament, 688.

Fountain (Serjeant) made one of the Commissioners of the Broad Seal, 667, 668.

G.

Gerard (Sir Gilbert) summoned to *Cromwell's House of Lords*, 595. brings an Action against Colonel *Alured*, 842. chosen one of the new Council of State, 850.

Gladman (Captain) Commander of *Cromwell's Troop*, 599. discharged from his Office, 600. restored by the Council of Officers, 642.

Goodwin (Dr.) *Cromwell's Trencher-Chaplain*, 609, 610. an Expression in his Prayer during his Sickness, 610.

Grace (Colonel) restored to his Estate, 489.

Greenvill (Sir John) carries the King's Letters to the Parliament, 878.

Grey (Lord) of *Grooby* sent Prisoner to *Windsor-Castle*, 530. sues for a *Habeas Corpus*, *ib.* granted him by the Chief Justice, *ib.* rejected by the Governour of the Castle, *ib.* obtains his Liberty upon a Pecuniary Security, *ib.*

Grimestone (Sir Harbottle) a Member of the new Council of State, 850.

Grove (Captain *Hugh*) engaged in a Cavalier-plot, 516. taken Prisoner, 517. beheaded, 518.

Gumble (Thomas) Chaplain to General *Monk*, 809. dispatched with Letters to the Parliament, *ib.*

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H.

- H**acker (Colonel *Francis*) receives a Commission from the Speaker, 664.
- Hains** (Major General) killed in a Fight, 496.
- Hampton-Court** ordered to be sold, 678. the Sale of it prevented, *ib.*
- Harlow** (Major) one of the secluded Members, 841. his bold Saying in *Westminster-Hall*, 841.
- Harrington** (Sir *James*) chosen one of the Council of State, 657. and of the Army-Committee of Safety, 715.
- Harrison** (Major General) carries on the design of *Oliver Cromwell*, 450 & 454. forces the Speaker in Parliament to leave the Chair, 457. summoned before the Council, 489. upbraided by *Cromwell*, *ib.* sent Prisoner to *Carisbrook-Castle*, 489. removed to his House at *Highgate*, 563. his Conference with Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, *ib.* & 564, 565, 566.
- Hastlerig** (Sir *Artur*) chosen a Member of *Oliver Cromwell's* Parliament, 498. excluded from sitting, 579. summoned to the new House of Lords, 595. comes privately to *London*, 597. takes his Place in the House of Commons, *ib.* chosen again under *Richard Cromwell*, 618. made one of the Committee of Safety, 651. obtains Colonel *Howard's* Regiment of Horse, 654. chosen one of the Council of State, 656. his Character, 718. communicates the *Darby-Petition* to the House, 719. moves that Colonel *Lambert* might be committed to the *Tower*, *ib.* retires to *Portsmouth*, 746. comes to *London*, 807. his extraordinary Transports, *ib.* & 808. his Declaration to adhere to a Commonwealth Government, 811 & 812. he causes it to be printed and published, 812. his Regiment of Horse removed from *London*, 815. nominated one of the Commissioners of the Parliament-Forces, 830. required to take his Place in the House, 852. deserted by General *Mork*, 866.
- Hewes** (Dr.) imprisoned for conspiring against *Cromwell*, 605. the Charge exhibited against him, 606. brought before the High Court of Justice, *ib.* demurs to its Jurisdiction, *ib.* his demurrer over-ruled, *ib.* thrice arraigned, *ib.* condemned to death, 607. beheaded, *ib.*
- Hewetson** (Colonel) his Arrears ordered to be paid, 513. chosen one of the Army-Committee of Safety, 715.
- Hispaniola**; the fruitless Expedition against that Town, 495, 496.
- Holland** (Corn.) made one of the Committee of Safety, 715.
- Holles** (Mr. *Denzil*) a Member of the new Council, 850.
- Holstein** (Duke of) makes a Present to *O. Cromwell*, 508.
- Honywood** (Sir *Thomas*) summoned to *Cromwell's* House of Lords, 595.

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Honywood (Sir Robert) chosen one of the Council of State, 657. one of the Plenipotentiaries to *Holland*, 667.

Howard (Colonel Philip) made Commander of General Monk's Guard 848.

Hurst-Castle secured for the Parliament, 764.

Hutchinson (Colonel) a Member of the High Court of Justice; 822, 823. exceeded the rest in zeal for executing the King, *ib.* he presses the House to proceed against Sir *Henry Vane*, 823.

I.

Iames Duke of York assists the Spaniards at the Siege of *Dunkirk*, 561.

Jamaica; taken by Colonel *Venables*, 496. a Re-inforcement of 3000 Men sent thither, 557.

Jepson (Col. Will.) moves the House that *Cromwell* might be made King, 582. reproved by him upon that account, *ib.* his answer, *ib.* he obtains a Troop of Horse for himself, 583. and a Foot-Company for his Son, *ib.* sent Agent to *Sweden*, *ibid.*

Informations against the *Irish*, 436.

Ingoldsby (Col. Rich.) goes to *Ireland*, 642: consults with *Henry Cromwell*, *ib.* much in favour with *Rich. Cromwell*, 633. obtains Col. *Rich.*'s Regiment, 848 & 849. takes Major General *Lambert* Prisoner, 877.

Instrument of Government presented to the Council of Officers; 476. the Purport of it, 478. examined by the Parliament, 449 & 450. the Confirmation of it pressed, 580 & 581: many Objections made against it, 583. a new Form drawn up and presented, *ib.* debated and approved, 584. another new Instrument established, 593. a particular Clause therein, 611.

Jones (Mr.) of *Newton*, engaged in a Cavalier-Plot, 516. taken Prisoner, 517. condemned and pardoned, 518.

Jones (Colonel John) a Member of the Parliament-Committee of Safety, 651. and of the Council of State, 656. succeeds General *Ludlow* in the Command of the Forces in *Ireland*, 707. accused of High Treason, 806. the Particulars of his Charge, 817. summoned to the new Council of State, 867. obliged to sign an Engagement, 870.

Ireland, some Forces disbanded there, 464 & *sequ.*

Irish Brigade resolve not to engage against General *Monk*, 742. enter into an Association, *ib.*

Irish Officers, their Present to General *Monk*, 857.

Irish-men tried for murdering the *English*, 440.

Ireton, Mayor of *London*: A Motion made to continue him another Year in that Office, 701. chosen one of the Army-Committee of Safety, 715.

Kelsey

I N D E X.

K.

Kelsey (Colonel *Tbo.*) invites General *Ludlow* to *Wallingford-House*, 634. made one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty, 653.

Kempstone (Col.) Brother-in-Law to Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, 546. Committed to Prison, *ib.*

Kinnerley (M.) Master of the Wardrobe, consulted about *O. Cromwell's Funeral*, 614. his Report as to that matter, *ib.*

Knighly (Mr.) chosen one of the new Council of State, 850.

L.

Lambert (Major General) presents an *Instrument of Government* to the Council of Officers, 47. receives a Gratuity of 10000 l. 513. opposes *Cromwell's* design to assume the Title of King, 588 & 593. refuses to take an Oath to him, *ib.* surrenders his Commission, *ib.* allowed a yearly Pension of 2000 l. 594. restored to his Command by the Council of Officers, 642. admitted into both the Committees of Safety, 651 & 715. chosen one of the Council of State, 656. obtains a Regiment of Horse and one of Foot, 670. exclaims against the Act of Indemnity, 676 & 677. commands the Forces sent against Sir *George Booth*, 691. marches from *London*, 693. defeats the Enemy, 693. receives a Gratuity of 1000 l. 696. he makes an Attempt against the Parliament's Guards, 723. goes Post for *Newcastle*, 738. ordered to surrender himself at a set time, 827. appears before the new Council of State, 852. committed to the *Tower*, 853. makes his Escape thence, 873. appears at the Head of 1000 Horse, 875. his Party dispers'd, 876. taken Prisoner, *ib.* sent to the *Tower* again, 877.

Lauderdale (Lord of) taken Prisoner at *Worcester-Fight*, 857. set at Liberty, *ib.*

Lawson (Reer Admiral) charges through the Dutch Fleet, 466. made Vice Admiral, 666. sent to the Sound, *ib.* his Expression with respect to General *Monk's* Proceedings, 821.

Leith fortified. 562.

Lenthall (Will.) Speaker of the Long Parliament, 595. made Master of the Rolls, 596. summoned to *Cromwell's* House of Lords, *ib.* his Transports upon that Occasion, *ib.* importuned to re-assume the Chair, 649. his frivolous Excuses, *ib.* & 650. he goes to the House, 651. stopped by Lieutenant Colonel *Duckenfield*, 725, 726. his Coachman forced to drive back, 726. the Keys of the House sent to him, 807. returns to the Exercise of his Office, *ib.* refuses to sign a Warrant to the Commissioners of the Seal, 842 & 843.

Lewes (Sir William) a Member of the new Council of State, 850.

Lilburn

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- Lilburn** (Lieutenant-Colonel *John*) tryed and acquitted by a Jury, 533. banished, *ib.*
- Lockhart** (Colonel) made Governour of *Dunkirk*, 671. ordered to fortifie that Place, *ib.* sent Agent to *France*, *ib.* & 672. courted by the *Spaniards*, 697. returns to *England*, 765.
- Lockyer** (*Nicholas*) appointed to preach before *Oliver Cromwell*, 592.
- Long** (Colonel *Thomas*) left by *Henry Cromwell* in *Dublin-Castle*, 667. surrenders it to Sir *Hardress Walter*, *ib.* & 678.
- London**; the Mayor and Aldermen of that City required to attend at *Whitehall*, 480. they accompany *Oliver Cromwell* to *Westminster-Hall*, *ib.* invite him to Dinner, 493. their Mayor Knighted, *ib.* the Aldermen and Common Council present a Paper to the Council of Officers, 772 & 773. they incite General *Monk* to call a free Parliament, 809. receive Petitions from the Counties, 823. encourage the Petitioners, *ib.* Vote that no Taxes be paid unless imposed by a free Parliament, 824. the City Gates and Portcullices taken down, 824, 825. the Posts and Chains pulled up, *ib.* some of the Common-Council seized, *ib.* they assemble by General *Monk's* Order, 840. the Companies make a great Entertainment for him, 855.
- Love** (*Nich.*) one of the King's Judges, 868.
- Ludlow** (General *Edmund*) receives a kind Message from *Oliver Cromwell*, 476. obstructs the Proclaiming of him in *Ireland*, 482. and of the Instrument of Government, 483. his Conference with the Commissioners of Parliament, 484. the Arguments used to perswade him to continue his Service under *Cromwell*, *ib.* & 485. his answers to them, *ib.* he resolves to retain his Office of Lieutenant-General of the Horse, 486. entertains Colonel *Henry Cromwell*, 490. his Conference with him, *ib.* & 491, 492. acquaints him with his Resolution, 491. disperses the Army's Petition to *Oliver Cromwell*, 520 & 521. questioned about that Matter, 521. required to surrender his Commission, 523. his Discourse with Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*, *ib.* he asks the Judgment of some Officers, *ib.* the Result of that Conference, 524. his Answers to General *Fleetwood's* Demands, 525 & 526. required to give his Word to appear before *Cromwell*, 527. his Regiment disbanded, 531. required to stay in *Ireland*, 535. his Conferences with Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*, *ib.* & 536. his Proposals to him, 537. he obtains a Pass-port for *England*, 539. writes a Letter to Col. *Hen. Cromwell*, 542. arrives at *Beaumaris*, *ibid.* detained there, *ibid.* sends a Letter to Lieut. Gen. *Fleetwood*, 545. ordered to be kept in strict Custody, *ib.* signs an Engagement

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ment for his Liberty, 549 & 550. sets forward for *London*, 550 & 551. comes to *Westminster*, 551. his Conference with *O. Cromwell*, 552, 553, 554 & 555. his Discourse with Maj. Gen. *Lambert*, 555 & 556. with Maj. Gen. *Harrison*, 563, 564, 565 & 566. with *Hugh Peters*, 566 & 567. summoned before the Council, 568. charged with dispersing treasonable Books, 569. and other Crimes, *ibid* his Defence, *ibid*. & *sequ*. his Discourse with Mr. *Strickland*, 573 & 574. required to give 5000 l. security, 574. taken into Custody by Serj. *Dendy*, *ibid*. retires into *Essex*, 575. sets forward thence for *London*, 610. arrives at *Westminster*, *ib*. ordered to attend Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*, *ib*. his Discourse with him, *ib*. chosen a Member of *Rich. Cromwell's* Convention, 618 & 619. invited to *Wallingford-House*, 634. his Consultation with that Party, *ib*. his Discourse with Col. *Sydenham*, 636. he gives a List of the Members of the Long Parliament, 645. chosen one of the Committee of Safety, 651. obtains Col. *Gough's* Regiment of Horse, 654. 655, appointed one of the Council of State, 657. made Commander in Chief of the Forces in *Ireland*, 668 & 669. prevents the Sale of *Hampton-Court*, 678. receives four Commissions from the Speaker, 679. sets forward for *Ireland*, 681. arrives at the *Ring's End*, 682. his management of Affairs in *Ireland*, 696 & 697. appoints Col. *Jones* to Command the Forces in his Absence, 703 & 707. Imbarks for *England*, 709. his Discourse with Col. *Barrow*, 711. his Conference with the Officers of the *Irish* Brigade, 712 & 713. arrives at *London*, 716. his Conference with Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*, *ib*. & 717. with some of the Officers at *Whitehall*, 729 & 730. with some of the Parliament-Party, 731 & 732. with Mr. *Lenthall* the Speaker, 732 & 733. his Discourse in the Council of Officers, 754 & *sequ*. his Proposals to the Army, 766. his Remonstrance to the Aldermen of *London*, 774 & 775. his arrival at *Bullock-Bay*, 786. his Letters to several Commanders of Garrisons, 789 & 795. dispatches Letters for the Parliament, 793. Lands at *Duncannon*, 794. the Calumnies raised against him, 799 & 800. his Answer to a Libel, 800, 801 & 802. ordered to attend the Parliament, 802. sets sail for *England*, 804. accused of High Treason, 805. required to deliver *Duncannon-Fort*, 814. he resolves to take his Place in Parliament, 815 & 816. goes to the House accordingly, 817. the Heads of the Charge brought against him, 817, 818. he moves the House for a Hearing, 818. goes to General *Monk*, 819. his Conference with him, 820 & 821. moves the House again for a Hearing, 828. his Discourse with Sir *Henry Vane*, 828. he gives General *Monk* another Visit, 832. his Conference with

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with him, 833, 834 & 835. he advises the Adjourning of the Parliament to the *Tower*, 841. presses a third time for a Hearing, 843 & 844. withdraws himself from the House, 854. his Proposals to some of the Common-wealth Party, 853, 854 & 855. he departs from *London*, 867. summoned to the new Council of State, *ib.* his Journies up and down the Countries, 868 & *sequ.* holds a Court at *Tardenfield*, 870. returned at the Election for *Hinden-Borough*, 872. supplanted by the Agents of Sir *Thomas Thynne*, *ib.* receives a Message from General *Lambert*, 874. his Conference with Major *Whitby*, 875 & 876. arrives at *London*, 877.

M.

Maccarty Reagh accused of committing Murder, 436. acquitted, 443.

Major-Generals, placed in several Counties, 519. how employed, *ib.* their Insolence, 559. they Decimate whom they please, *ib.* stop Proceedings at Law, *ib.* threaten those that oppose them with Transportation, *ib.* accused in Parliament, 580 & 581. they insist on the Confirmation of the Instrument of Government, *ib.* and of their Power, *ib.* their Authority abrogated, *ib.*

Manning (Henry) employed by O. Cromwell as a Spy, 607, 608. betrays K. Charles II. *ib.* his Treachery discovered, 609. shot to death, *ib.*

Markham (Major) caressed by Henry Cromwell, 602.

Martin (Colonel) his witty Allegory with respect to General Monk's Proceedings, 810 & 811.

Mayo (Lord) charged with committing Murder, 436. declared guilty and executed, 443.

Memento, a Writing against Cromwell's Usurpation; 520. dispersed in *Ireland*, *ib.* & 521.

Middleton (Lieutenant General) Lands in the North of *Scotland*, 505. routed by Colonel *Morgan*, 507. wounded in the Fight, *ib.* makes his Escape on foot, *ib.*

Middleton (Sir Thomas) Heads the Cavalier-Party at *Wrexham*, 687. causes Charles Stuart to be proclaimed King, *ib.*

Miller (Colonel) made Lieutenant of the *Tower*, 763. submits himself and his Garrison to the Speaker, 807.

Ministers; publicly declare against Cromwell's Usurpation, 490. imprisoned upon that account, *ib.*

Monk (Lieutenant General George) succeeds Colonel *Popham* in the Command of the Fleet, 439. appointed one of the four chief Admirals, 470. made General of the Scotch Forces, 504. and one of the Commissioners for the Civil Affairs *ib.* ordered to leave the Fleet, *ib.* and to repair to *Scotland*, *ib.* di-

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vides his Army into several Bodies, 506. defeats Lieutenant General Middleton's Forces, *ib.* & 507. his Character, 643. suspected by the *Wallingford-House* Party, *ib.* nominated one of the Army-Committee of Safety, 715. declares against their Proceedings, 716. and for the Parliament, 728. his Letter to the Speaker, *ib.* to Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, and to Colonel *Lambert*, *ib.* resolves to march to *London*, 737. new models his Men, *ib.* begins his march for *England*, 809. solicited to use his Interest for a free Parliament, *ib.* enters *Newcastle*, *ib.* advances to *Nottingham*, 810. insists upon the Removal of the *Settaries* out of the Army, 812, 813. presses to have the Forces about *London* removed, 814, 815. comes to *Barnet*, 818. marches to *London*, 819. takes up his Lodgings at *Whitehall*, *ib.* his Arrival congratulated by some Members, *ib.* his Conference with General *Ludlow*, 820 & 821. his Protestations *to live and die for and with a Common weal*, *ib.* & 835. he goes to the Parliament, 821. receives the Thanks of the House, *ib.* his answer, *ib.* & 822. his Wife entertains those of the Members, *ib.* he takes down the City-Gates and Portcullises, 824, 825. pulls up the Posts and Chains, *ib.* sends a Letter to the Speaker, 825. the Contents of it, *ib.* & 826. receives new Orders from the Parliament, *ib.* lies in the City, *ib.* returns with his Forces to *Whitehall*, *ib.* sends another Letter to the House, *ib.* the Particulars of it, *ib.* & 827. he musters his Forces in the City, 829. splendidly entertained by the Mayor, 829. voted to be one of the Commissioners of the Parliament-Forces, 830. forms a Militia in the City, 831. promotes a Meeting between the sitting and secluded Members, 836. causes the Common-Council to be assembled, 839. his Speech to them, 840. quarters again at *Whitehall*, 845. his Excuses for bringing in the secluded Members, 847. chooses 200 Horse for his own Guard, 848. made a Member of the new Council, 850. his Protestation to Colonel *Okay*, 856. solicited by the Lords to be admitted into their House, 858. gives them a positive Denial, 858. places a Guard upon their House, 858. sends a Letter to the House about the Militia-Act, 862. calls a new Parliament, 878. sends to the Lords to come to their House, 878.

Moor (Colonel *Lewes*) hanged for Murder, 443.

Mordant (Mr.) imprisoned for Plotting against *Cromwell*, 606. tried by the High-Court of Justice, 606. acquitted by one Voice, 606.

Morgan (Colonel) pursues and routs Lieutenant General *Middleton*, 506 & 507.

Morley

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Morley (Colonel) one of the Council of State, 656. nominated one of the Commissioners of the Parliament-Forces, 830. one of the new Council of State, 850.

Mosson (Colonel) entertains *Henry Cromwell*, 534. Drinks his Father's Health, 534

Mountague (Colonel) seized, 40 prosecuted for putting English-men to death, 440. brought to his Trial, 443. acquitted, 444. permitted to pass into *Spain*, 444. puts Himself and Men into the *Venetian* Service, 444.

N.

Nevil (*Henry*) sues the Sheriff of *Berks*, 600. the sum of 1500 l. adjudged to him for Damages, 601. charged with false Aspersions, 602. defrauded of his Damages, 602. admitted into the Council of State, 656.

Newcastle possessed by Colonel *Lambert's* Forces, 741.

Newdigate (Judge) refuses to grant a *Habeas Corpus* to Sir *Robert Pje*, 842. his Declaration upon that occasion, 842.

Nieuport (Myn Heer) sent Ambassador from *Holland*, 485. promotes *O. Cromwell's* Designs, 485. a Treaty between him and a Committee of Parliament, 666 & 667.

Norton (Colonel) Governour of *Portsmouth*, discharged from that Office, 653. chosen a Member of the new Council of State, 850.

O.

Oath; administred to the Members of *Richard Cromwell's* Convention, 619 & sequ. an Oath enjoyned for the Abjuration of the *Stuarts* Family, 811.

Officers of the Army; solicited to Petition the Parliament to put an end to their sitting, 451. that Motion stilled for a while, 452. a Meeting of the Officers appointed by *O. Cromwell*, 462 they summon a kind of Parliament, 463. presented with an *Instrument of Government*, 476. their Propositions to Major General *Lambert*, 477. some of them refuse to submit to *Cromwell's* Government, 489. required to surrender their Commissions. 489. sent to several Prisons, 489. they sign a Petition to *Cromwell*, 520. present another to the Parliament, 589. the Contents of it, 589 & 590. a triple Faction among them, 631 & 632. their Insolence, 657. they refuse to take the Oath appointed by Parliament, 657. order'd to receive their Commissions from the Speaker, 660, 661 & 662. resolve to destroy the Parliament, 695. a Declaration drawn in their Name, 851. they press for the calling of a Council of War, 651. dispersed to their several Commands, 852.

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- Okey* (Colonel) his Conference with the Officers of his Regiment, 520 cashiered by *O. Cromwell*, 644. restored by the *Wallingford-House* Officers, 644. he endeavours to seize the *Tower* for the Parliament, 763. repairs to the Fleet, 771. musters a Party in *Lincolns-Inn-Fields*, 807.
- O. Neal* (Sir *Phelim*) a principal Actor in the Rebellion, 445. surprizes and murders the Lord *Cawfield*, 446. the sum of 100 l. set upon his Head, 446. taken and condemned to Death, 446. his Head set upon one of the Gates, 446.
- Onslow* (Sir *Richard*) summoned to *O. Cromwell's* House of Lords, 595. chosen one of the new Council of State, 850.
- Other House*, what, 584 & 585. by whom filled up, 595.
- Overbury* (Mr.) of *Glocester* receives a Chest full of Arms, 653. gives notice of it to Captain *Croftis*, 658.
- Overton* (Major General) accused of a treacherous Design, 520. sent Prisoner to *London*, *ibid.* committed to the *Tower*, *ibid.* sent in Custody to *Fersey*, 533. removed from the Government of *Hull*, 859.
- Owen* (Dr. *John*) draws up a Petition for Colonel *Pride*, 588. desires a List of the Members of the Long Parliament, 645. carries it to those at *Wallingford-House*, 588.

P.

- P***ack* (Mr.) Alderman of *London*, presents a new Form of Government to the House, 583. by whom opposed, 583 & 584. born down from the Speaker's Chair to the Bar, 584.
- Packer* (Colonel) Major of *Cromwell's* Regiment of Horse, 599. dismissed from his Command, 600. restored by the Council of Officers, 642.
- Peters* (*Hugh*) keeps fair with the Court-Party, 566. his Conference with Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, 566 & 567.
- Parliament (called the *Long*) correct the unequal Representation of the People, 435. pass an Act for the Sale of Delinquents Estates, 437. appoint Commissioners for the regulating of Sea-Affairs, 439. declare the War in *Ireland* to be concluded, 440. pass an Act for the dividing of Lands in *Ireland*, 442. order the Sale of *Hampton-Court*, &c. 450. resolve to pass the Act for their own Dissolution, 455. establish the Government of a Common wealth, 455. dissolved and turned out of Doors by *O. Cromwell*, 458.
- Parliament summoned by the Council of Officers. See Convention.
- Parliament under *O. Cromwell*, 497. resolve to lay a Claim to their Liberties, 499. refer the Consideration of the *Instrument of Government* to a Committee, 499. their Debate about the Government

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Government by a single Person and a Parliament, 500. required to attend in the Painted Chamber, *ibid.* Cromwell's Speech to them there, *ibid.* & 501. several Members withdraw themselves, 501. others subscribe the Recognition, *ibid.* their Declaration about it, 502. they nominate him Protector during his Life, *ibid.* limit the number of Forces and Ships, *ibid.* settle his Revenues, *ibid.* appoint the Salaries of his Council, Judges, &c. *ibid.* Vote a Clause to declare the People's Rights, *ibid.* and that no Money shall be raised but by authority of Parliament, *ibid.* ordered to attend in the Painted Chamber, 510. Cromwell's Charge against them, 510 & 511. dissolved soon after, 512. another Parliament called by Cromwell, 563. many of the Members chosen excluded, 519. they Petition the sitting Members, *ibid.* the Answer returned to them, *ibid.* divers Bills prepared to gratify the Souldiery, 580. a new Form of Government presented to the House, 583. supreme Power to be in a single Person and two Houses, *ibid.* the *Other House* of whom to be composed, 584 & 585. they press Cromwell to assume the Title of King, 585. he refuses their Offer, 586. they receive a Petition from the Officers, 589. the Contents of it, *ibid.* & 590. the Debate of it [put off, 591. their Attendance required at *Whitehall*, *ibid.* they declare against the Family of the *Stuarts*, 591. their humble Petition and Advice to *Oliver Cromwell*, *ibid.* a Feast prepared for them, 592. they take an Oath to be true to the Protector, 593. provide supplies for the Army, 594. adjourn themselves for some Months, 595. the excluded Members admitted, 597. they take an Oath to the Protector, *ibid.* call in Question the Acts of the former Sessions, *ibid.* required to attend in the House of Lords, 599. Dissolved, *ibid.*

Parliament under *Rich. Cromwell*, 615. Debates about the administration of an Oath, 619 & 620. the Recognition of *Rich. Cromwell* brought into the House, 623. Contentions between the Court and Common-wealth Parties, *ibid.* & *sequ.* Debates about the *Scottish* and *Irish* Members, 626, 627 & 628. about the House of Lords, 628, 629 & 630. that House Established, 629. the Vote against the Council of Officers, 638. Authorize *Rich. Cromwell* to disperse them, *ibid.* declare him General of the Army, *ibid.* suddenly Dissolved, 641 & 642. a Padlock set on the Door of the House, 642. a Guard placed in the Court of Requests, *ibid.*

Long Parliament restored, 648. some of the Members repair to the Speaker's House, 649. he makes several Excuses, *ibid.* they order the Clerks to draw Directions for summoning the other Members, 650. take their Places in the House, 651.

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the Speaker leads the way, *ibid.* they appoint a Committee of Safety, *ibid.* Writs, &c. to run in the Name of *the Keepers of the Liberties of England*, 652. resolve that no Member shall be a Judge, 653. appoint a Committee for Sea Affairs, 635. declare how the Nation shall be governed, 655, 656. order *Whitehall* to be cleared, 656. and that *Rich. Cromwell* have notice of it, *ibid.* constitute a Council of State, *ibid.* the Members chosen for that Office, *ibid.* their Answer to an Address from *Wallingford House*, 660. appoint Commissioners for the nomination of Officers, *ibid.* make Lieut. General *Fleetwood* Commander in chief, *ibid.* order that the Officers shall receive their Commissions from the Speaker, 660, 661 & 662. that 2000*l* be paid to *Rich. Cromwell*, 665. pass a Resolution to pay his Debts, *ibid.* inspect the Affairs of *Ireland*, 665. their agreement with the States of *Holland*, 667. they establish their Judges in all the Courts, *ibid.* appoint Gen. *Ludlow* Commander in chief of the Forces in *Ireland*, 668 & 669. raise a Troop of Horse for their own Guard, 670. settle a Trade with *Spain*, 672. Debate about a Form of Government, 674 & 675. pass an Act of Indemnity, 672 & 676. disapprove the *Darby*-Petition, 705 & 720. their Answer to the Address by the Council of Officers, 721. They Vote Lieutenant General *Fleetwood's* Commission to be void, 722. their Meeting obstructed by the Army, 725. Guards placed about the House, *ibid.* the Members consult about proper means for their Restoration, 745. Re-instated in their Authority, 807. they appoint an Oath for the Abjuration of the *Stuarts* Family, 811. send two Members as their Commissioners to General *Monk*, 812. and others to congratulate his Arrival, 819. desire his Attendance at the House, 821. order him the Thanks of the House, 821. Vote a 1000*l.* *per annum* to be settled upon him, 822. many alarms given to the Parliament, 823. they proceed on the Bill for filling up the House, *ibid.* approve what the General had done in the City, 825. order 50*l.* for his Dinner *ibid.* receive a Letter from him, *ibid.* require of him the exact performance of their Orders, 826. they receive another Letter from Gen. *Monk*, *ibid.* order Sir *Hen. Vane* to depart by a certain Day, 827. set a time for Col. *Lambert* to surrender himself, *ibid.* issue out Writs for recruiting the House, 828. Vote that their Armies shall be Governed by Commissioners, 830. nominate General *Monk* to be one of them, *ibid.* order the Forces in *Ireland*, to be included in that Commission, 831. receive an insolent Letter from *Ireland*, 837. The Contents of it, 837. the secluded Members admitted into the House, 845. they assume the Authority of a Parliament, 847. constitute

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constitute *Monk* General of all the Parliament-Forces both by Sea and Land, 848. joyn *Col. Mountague* with him in the Office of Admiral, *ib.* continue the Customs and Excise, *ib.* choose a new Council of State, 850. prepare an Act for settling the Militia, 856. and 1000 l. a Year on General *Monk*, *ibid.* a Debate whether the King's Party should be admitted to Elections, 860. carried in the Affirmative, *ibid.* pass the Militia Act, 861. desired by *Monk* to forbear the Execution of it, 862. their Answer to his Letter touching that Business, *ibid.* & 863. they authorise the Council of State to act till the meeting of the next Parliament, 863. pass the Act for their Dissolution, *ibid.* & 864.

Parliament under General *Monk* meet at *Westminster*, 878. the Lords re-admitted to their House, *ibid.* they Vote that the Government should be by a King, Lords and Commons, *ibid.* and that *Charles Stuart* should be proclaimed King of *England*, &c. *ibid.*

Penn (Vice-Admiral) one of the Four chief Commanders of the Fleet, 470. obtains the Command of a Transport-Fleet, 494. they arrive at *Barbadoes*, *ibid.* at *Hispiniola*, 495. he returns to *England*, 496. Accused by *Col. Venables*, *ibid.* Committed to the Tower, *ibid.*

Penruddock (Col.) Heads a Party of Cavaliers, 516. taken Prisoner, *ibid.* Condemned to Death, 517. Beheaded, 518.

Petition to *Cromwell* signed by the Army, 520. another Petition presented to the House by the Officers, 589. the Contents of it, *ibid.* & 590. the humble Petition and Advice of the House to *Cromwell*, 591 & 593. a particular Clause therein, 611. a Petition from *Col. Lambert's* Officers to the Parliament, 698. disapproved by the Officers of *Ireland*, 700.

Pickering (Sir *Gilh.*) one of the Army-Committee of Safety, 715.

Popham (Alex.) Summoned to *O. Cromwell's* House of Lords, 595.

Portsmouth, some of the Parliament-Party admitted there, 746.

Pride (Col.) Knighted with a Faggot-stick, 587. his Conference with *Col. Desborough*, *ibid.* & 588. causes a Petition to the House to be drawn up, *ibid.*

Projects concerning a Form of Government, 674 & 675.

Protector, a Title given to the chief Magistrate, 477. the Legislative Power declared to be in the Parliament and the Protector, 478. the Consent of the latter requisite in all Acts, *ibid.* Writs to be issued out in his Name, *ibid.* invested with the Power of the Militia, *ibid.* the Nation to be governed by him and his Council, *ibid.* & 479. *O. Cromwell* vested with that Authority, 592.

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Purefoy (Col.) keeps *Warwick-shire* in the Obedience of the Parliament, 688.

Pye (Sir Robert) Committed to the Tower by the Parliament, 842. sues for his *Habeas Corpus*, *ibid.* denied it, *ibid.*

Q.

Queen of *Sweden* signs the Articles agreed upon between the *English* and *Swedes*, 488.

R.

Rabble, cry out for a Free Parliament, 840. make Bonfires for roasting the Rump, *ibid.*

Recognizing, that Word proposed to be changed for *Agnizing*, 624.

Reynolds (Commissioner General) leads a Troop of 300 Officers to Grocers-Hall, 493. Chosen one of the Council of State, 656.

Rich (Col.) summoned before *Cromwell's* Council, 489. required to give up his Commission, *ibid.* put in Custody of the Sergeant at Arms, *ibid.* brought again before the Council, 568. pressed to give Security for his good Behaviour, 569. sent Prisoner to *Windjor-Castle*, *ibid.* Restored to his Command, 670. his Regiment given to Col. *Ingolsby*, 848.

Rolls (Judge) defers *George Cony's* Trial, 529 obtains his *Quietus*, *ibid.*

Rouse (Mr. *Francis*) Chairman to *O. Cromwell's* Convention, 472. he endeavours to obtain a Vote for their Dissolution, *ibid.* goes out of the House and repairs to *Whitehall*, 475. Chosen one of his Council, 479.

S.

Saint *Johns* (*Oliver*) Chief Justice, chosen one of the Council of State, 656. and a Member of the new Council, 850. *Saint John's* Town in *Scotland* Fortified, 562.

Salloway (Major) a Member of both the Committees of Safety, 651 & 715. and of the Council of State, 656. Committed to the Tower, 805.

Saunders (Col.) Cashiered by *O. Cromwell*, 644. Restored by *Wallingford-House* Party, *ibid.*

Scott (*Thomas*) chosen to serve in *O. Cromwell's* Parliament, 498. Excluded from Sitting, 579. takes his Place again in the House, 597. Chosen again under *Rich. Cromwell*, 618. one of the Committee of Safety, 652. and one of the Council of State, 656. appointed one of the Commissioners to General *Monk*, 812. publishes some of his Letters, *ibid.* the purport of them, *ibid.* he owns his having been concerned in the King's Death, 864. the Inscription he wish'd might be engraved on his Tomb, *ibid.* he withdraws himself from the House, *ibid.* retires into the Country, 866.

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- Scroop* (Col. *Adrian*) removed from *Bristol-Castle*, 504. made one of the Commissioners for the Government of *Scotland*, *ibid.*
- Secluded Members* have their Meetings in the City, 822. a Meeting proposed between them and the sitting Members, 836. admitted into the House, 845. they take upon them the Authority of a Parliament, 847.
- Sexby* (Col.) sent for to be secured, 530. betakes himself to Flight, *ibid.* he accepts of an Employment at *Bourdeaux*, 531. his Business betrayed to the Magistrates, *ibid.* they give Order to seize him, *ibid.* he escapes by Night, *ibid.* departs from *France*, *ibid.*
- Sidney* (Col. *Algernoon*) Chosen one of the Council of State, 656. and one of the Plenipotentiaries to *Holland*, 667.
- Slingsby* (Sir *Henry*) Imprisoned, 605. the Charge brought against him, 606. pronounced Guilty, 607. adjudged to Dye, *ibid.* Beheaded, *ibid.*
- Somerset-House* Sold, 679. the Chappel turned into a *French Church*, *ibid.*
- Souldiery*; divers Bills prepared in their favour, 580. their Insolence, *ibid.*
- Spanish Ambassador*; his Application to *O. Cromwell*, 494.
- Steel* (Serj.) one of the Army-Committee of Safety, 715. arrives in *England*, 740. refuses to act in the Committee, 741.
- Sterling* and *St John's Town* Fortified, 562.
- Stierrye* (Mr.) his Expression upon the News of *O. Cromwell's* Death, 612.
- Strickland* (Walt.) one of the Army-Committee of Safety, 715.
- Sydenham* (Col.) Chosen one of both the Committees of Safety, 651 & 715. and of the Council of State, 656.

T.

- T** *Emple* (Col. *Edm.*) seized at *Chester*, 685. brought before Sir *George Booth*, *ibid.* permitted to Embark for *Ireland*, *ibid.* possesses himself of *Carlo*, 787. ordered to block up *Duncannon-Fort*, 796.
- Thomlinson* (Col.) Accused of High Treason, 806. Summoned to the new Council of State, 867.
- Thompson* (Col.) one of the Members of the Council of State, 656. forced to sign an Engagement, 870.
- Thurloe* (Secretary) brings the Recognition of *Rich. Cromwell* into the House, 623.
- Titchburn* (Col.) one of the Army-Committee of Safety, 715.
- Took* (Luke) Head of an *Irish* Sept submits to the Parliament, 444. Accused of Murder, 445. Convicted and Executed, 445.
- Townsend* (Sir *Horatio*) chosen one of the Council of State, 656.
- Tyrrel* (Serj.) made one of the Commissioners of the Broad-
Seal, 667, 668.

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V.

Vane (Sir *Henry*) summoned before *O. Cromwell's* Council, 568. charged with disaffection to the Government, 576. required to give Security, 577. appears again before the Council, *ib.* sent Prisoner to *Carisbroock-Castle*, *ib.* set at liberty, 594. his Title to his Estate called in question, *ib.* chosen a Member of the Convention under *Richard Cromwell*, 618 & 619. one of the Parliament Committee of Safety, 651. one of the Council of State, 656. one of the Army-Committee of Safety, 715. discharged from being a Member of Parliament, 805. commanded to depart from *London*, *ib.* & 827. prepares to leave the Town, 828.

Van Trump (Dutch Admiral) Convoys a Fleet of Merchant Ships, 437. engages the English Fleet, 438. routed by them, 466 & 467. killed with a Musket-Ball, 468.

Venables (Colonel) made Commander of an Army, 49. defeated near *Hispaniola*, 493 & 494. Lands at *Jamaica*, 496. disabled by Sickness, *ib.* returns to *England*, *ib.* accused by Vice-Admiral *Penn*, *ib.* confined to his Lodgings, *ib.*

W.

Wagstaff (Colonel) Commands a Party of Cavaliers, 516. escapes after the Defeat, 517.

Walcot (Captain) seized at *Chester*, 849. makes his Escape to *London*, 850. his Remonstrance to General *Monk*, *ib.* obtains a Pass-port for *Ireland*, *ib.*

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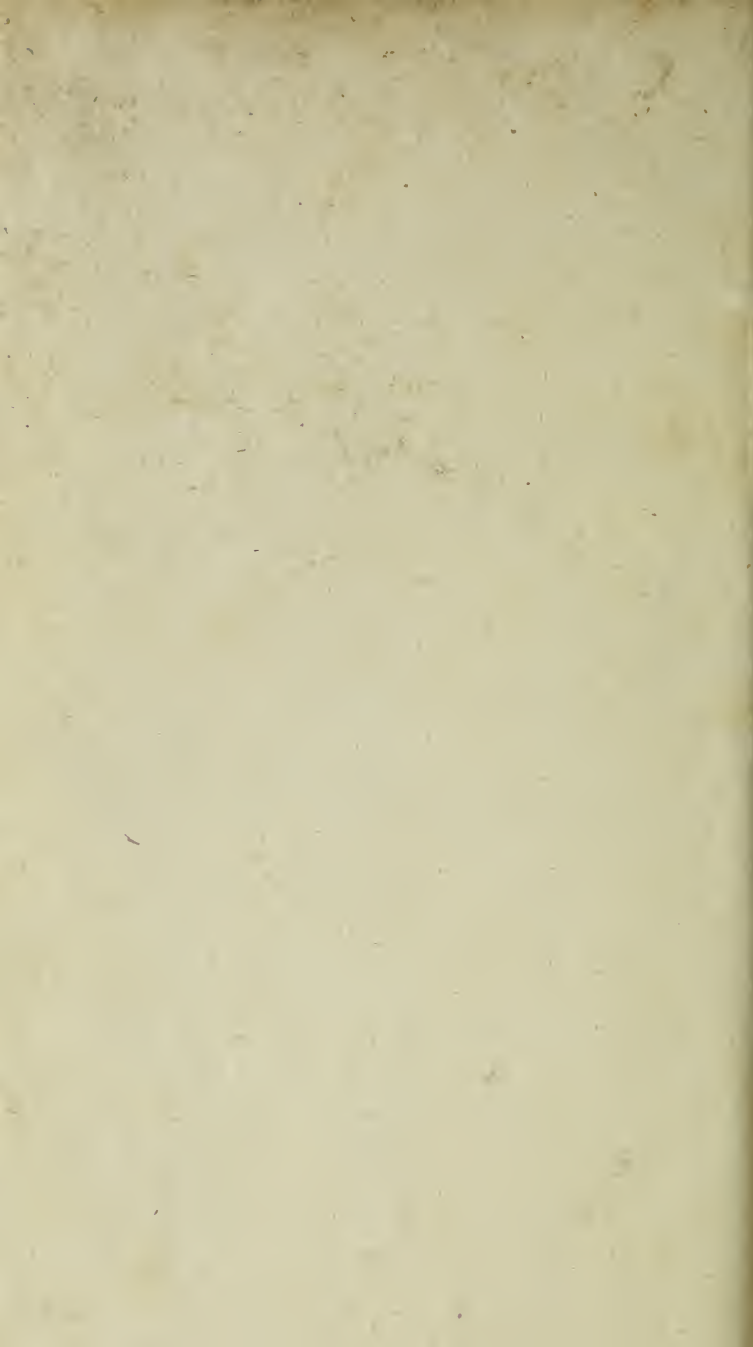
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